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THE

# HISTORY OF THE WARS

WHICH AROSE OUT OF THE

# FRENCH REVOLUTION:

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

*A REVIEW OF THE CAUSES OF THAT EVENT.*

BY ALEXANDER STEPHENS,

OF THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE, ESQ.

——— statui res gestas populi Romani strictim, uti quæque memoria digna videbantur, perscribere: eo magis, quod mihi a spe, metu, partibus reipublicæ animus liber erat. SAL. *de conjurat. Catil.*

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

*PHILADELPHIA:*

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY JOHN BIOREN, AND THOMAS L. PLOWMAN.

1804.

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MEMOIRS

OF

# *THE HISTORY OF THE WARS*

ARISING OUT OF THE

# FRENCH REVOLUTION.

## BOOK I.

1795 CHAP. I.

*The Victories obtained by France induce many of the Powers of Europe to enter into Negociations—Treaties of Peace with Tuscany, Prussia, Spain, Hanover, and Hesse.*

FRANCE at no former period of the revolution had assumed so imposing an attitude as at the commencement of the year 1795. An immense tract of country, consisting of some of the finest as well as richest provinces of Europe, with a population estimated at thirteen millions of inhabitants, had been subjugated by her victorious armies. The capture of three thousand eight hundred pieces of cannon, and ninety stand of colours, added to the triumph of twenty-seven general actions, of which eight were pitched battles, and the acquisition of one hundred and twenty-two forts and cities, had surrounded her with a blaze of glory; while her enemies were weakened by the loss of near seventy thousand men, who either perished by disease or the sword, and more than eighty thousand who had been made prisoners. The leaders too employed in the direction of military affairs appeared admirably calculated to extend still further the acquisitions and the fame of the republic; for at this period she possessed one

general * who had evinced extraordinary talents during the contest in Belgium; another who had distinguished himself on the frontiers of Germany †; a third ‡ coverd with the laurels culled at Maubeuge and Charleroi; and a fourth || who, after being victorious in West Flanders and Alsace, had crowned all his atchievements by the conquest of Holland.

The brilliant successes of the campaign of 1794 had rendered France so formidable that the coalition against her independence began to dissolve, and most of the neighbouring powers were eager to recognise the republic. The grand-duke, brother to the emperor, was the first to acknowledge and even to solicit the alliance of the new government. This prince had evinced a determined resolution to preserve a strict neutrality; but having been first reproached § and then menaced by the minister of one of the combined powers, which at that period possessed a formidable fleet in the Mediterranean, he had reluctantly consented to dismiss La Flotte the French ambassador, and those denominated his adherents, from the Tuscan territories. At the beginning of this year his highness eagerly embraced the opportunity

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* Moreau. † Hoche. ‡ Jourdan. || Pichegru.

§ The count de Terriflori having intimated to lord Hervey, May 22, 1793, the resolution of the grand duke "to maintain a strict and unchangeable neutrality in regard to the powers at war," his lordship was pleased next day to observe, "that this continuance of the neutrality will depend upon the manner in which the allied powers shall consider it." "I will wait," adds the English minister, "for the orders of my sovereign before I expatiate any further on this subject. As to the question which may be asked, how his royal highness can reconcile with his own dignity, and the interest of Tuscany, the supplies which have been granted, the protection, the good harmony, nay, even the partiality, which has been shewn to a nation which rendered itself guilty of regicide in the sacred person of his uncle Louis XVI. the king of France—a nation which is the avowed enemy of his brother the emperor, of his uncle the king of Spain, and of almost every crowned head in Europe—this question I have neither orders, nor is it my duty, to resolve."

In a subsequent note, dated "Florence, September 2, 1793," after stating that the fleet of his Britannic majesty had established its principal magazines on the coast of Tuscany, &c. lord H. demanded "that the French minister resident at Florence be

of "revoking all acts of adhesion, consent, and accession, to the armed combination against the French republic," and also of re-establishing "the neutrality of Tuscany."

This was soon after followed by a recognition of the French republic on the part of a monarch, who, as he was the first to enter into, so also was he the first to desert, the coalition. The king of Prussia having annexed two great cities*, together with some of the most fertile provinces of Poland, to the dominions of the house of Brandenbourg, entered into a negociation with the committee of public safety, and at length concluded a treaty, by means of his minister the baron de Hardenberg, with citizen Barthelemy the French ambassador at Basle. While this pacification, without surrendering any of the acquisitions on the left bank of the Rhine, withdrew a powerful enemy from the alliance against France on the one hand, it at the same time contributed greatly to the aggrandisement of Prussia on the other; and by admitting a number of states in the north of Germany to the benefits of neutrality, added greatly to the influence of Frederick-William II. in the empire. The mediation of this sovereign also procured an opportunity for the landgrave of Hesse Cassel to retire from the war; and the latter prince not only agreed that the French should still occupy one of his fortresses†, but also stipulated neither to prolong nor renew the two subsidiary treaties with the court of Great Britain.

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sent out of the Tuscan territories, and that the coat of arms of the French nation be taken down from the front of his palace; further, that all the French jacobins be removed from the jurisdiction of the grand duchy, and that the inhabitants who are known to be their abettors be properly punished; in short, that all commerce to the French ports be entirely prohibited."

This notification was followed by a memorial from the British minister, presented October 8, stating that "admiral lord Hood declares in the name of the king his master, that if within the space of twelve hours after the representation of the undersigned, his royal highness the grand-duke does not resolve to send away M. de la Flotte and his adherents from Tuscany, the squadron will act offensively against the port and city of Leghorn." To this demand the grand-duke reluctantly notified his assent at eight o'clock in the evening of the same day.

* Dantzick and Thorn. † Rheinfeldt.

Notwithstanding the king of Prussia was the only prince in Europe who derived any benefit from a contest with the French, yet the advantages obtained for his kingdom were rather incidental than direct. When he first threw down the gauntlet against that nation he advanced in the true spirit of chivalry, without having provided ammunition, provisions, or battering-cannon for his army. Convinced too late, by the imposing appearance assumed by the enemy on the heights of Valmi, that the foe with which he had to contend would neither yield to the suggestions of cowardice nor of treachery, he beguiled the hopes of the emigrants, and almost annihilated his own army, in consequence of exposing it by turns to famine, disease, and to all the calamities incident to a long and disastrous retreat.

But although Frederick-William declined from that moment to remain at the head of a league which he had formed, and with an obvious policy permitted the house of Austria to weaken itself in the contest; yet as he had aspired from his youth to the title of Defender of the Germanic Liberties, he deemed it incumbent on him to restore Frankfort and Mentz to the empire.

After these objects had been obtained, his armies remained for some time inactive, and he would even at that period have made peace with the republic, had not the hopes of a subsidy from England produced a faint appearance of zeal but little serviceable to the common cause. No sooner, however, had the convention put all the youth of France in requisition, and united the army of the Moselle with that of the Rhine, than the interested policy of Prussia once more preponderated. Perceiving the forces of Austria driven across the boundary of ancient Gaul, and the blockade of Mentz and Luxemburg completed by a victorious enemy, the gay monarch, satiated with the spoils of Dantzic, Thorn, and Poland, once more reclined his head on the lap of pleasure, and left a youthful successor to obtain ample indemnities in Germany for the acquisitions made by the French on the banks of the Rhine.

Spain also was under the necessity of acknowledging that

republic with which she had entered into so unequal a conflict; and in consequence of the politic moderation now displayed towards her, had occasion to rejoice at a peace, by which, in return for the flourishing provinces lost in Europe, she was only obliged to resign an unprofitable and almost useless portion of her territories in America.

The contest between France and Spain terminated in a manner highly disadvantageous to the latter, and has generally been considered as impolitic on the part of both. It originated with the revolution, but it was not until after the execution of Louis XVI. that Charles IV. joined the coalition; even then his majesty appeared more eager to punish a public insult offered to the elder branch of the house of Bourbon, than to dismember the empire, and thus destroy a power become necessary for his own protection. Offensive measures commenced on the part of the court of Madrid, which had been for some time prepared for the war; and a Spanish army, after crossing the Bidassoa, suddenly attacked the French camp, the fort of Hendaye, and a redoubt on the summit of a neighbouring mountain; it also obtained possession of the camps of Sare and Château Pignon, obliged the enemy to retreat in all directions, and took general Lagnetiere prisoner.

Servan, who had been appointed to the command of the army of the western Pyrenées, after adopting a defensive system of operations until he had obtained considerable reinforcements, advanced against the victorious Spaniards, and expelled them from the territories of the republic. But on the side of the eastern Pyrenées the catholic forces still proved successful at Port Vendre, Fort St. Elmo, and Colliura; while general Forbes, a Portuguese officer, at the head of a body of troops of that nation, and general Hurrigary, with a column of native infantry, defeated the republicans at the camp of Bannuls de Aspres: nor was this all, for the important fortress of Bellegarde surrendered soon after, and the count de L'Union and don Juan Courton gained a decisive victory in the neighbourhood of Truillas.

The second campaign proved less fortunate to the court of Madrid; for although don Ventura Caro obtained some

slight advantage at Andaya, and don Antonio Ricardos, commander of the army of Catalonia, possessed himself of the town of Goret, the republicans, in their turn, entered the territories of Spain, and were victorious at St. Jean de Luz, Figuieras, and Irun; the important city of Fontarabia capitulated on the first summons to general Moncey, who soon after occupied the heights above St. Sebastian, which also opened its gates, while Toloso, the capital of Guipuscoa, surrendered to the victorious invaders.

On the side of the eastern Pyrenées the success of the French was still more decisive; for they attacked the Spanish camp at Cerat, seized on the greater part of their artillery, killed and wounded a great number of troops, and took two thousand prisoners. Nearly at the same time general Dugommier, who had distinguished himself at the siege of Toulon, obtained a most splendid victory over the count de L'Union, commander in chief of the Spanish army, by which he was greatly beloved on account of his youth, his activity, and personal courage. This action, which took place at Colisaro, not only obtained for the victors possession of all the baggage and cannon of the vanquished, but a body of men amounting to no less than seven thousand, with an unexampled degree of resignation, grounded their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

Another action for the relief of Bellegarde proved equally unfortunate; and the French, after a siege of considerable duration, once more obtained possession of that important fortress. The Spanish general, who is said to have decimated part of his troops on account of their cowardice, advanced the day after the surrender, but was obliged to retreat; and when he afterwards attacked the enemy at Spanilles, was again overcome with great slaughter, and lost his cannon, tents, and warlike stores.

Dugommier having perished, like Wolfe, in the moment of victory, his army advanced to revenge his death, and stormed the Spanish entrenchments, which were fortified with such art as to be deemed nearly impregnable; the French however prevailed, and the count de L'Union did not survive his defeat, which, while it produced the surrender of Figuieras waith a

garrison of nearly ten thousand men, scattered terror and dismay throughout Spain *.

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* The uninterrupted series of success experienced by the armies of the republic in Spain, occupied the oratorical powers and exaggerated metaphors of Barrere, during several days in the convention.

"You have formerly beheld at your bar," says he, "the standards of the slaves of London, Amsterdam, Vienna, and Berlin. It is but a few days since the army of the eastern Pyrenées obliged seven thousand Spaniards, who submitted to a shameful capitulation worthy of slaves alone, to lay down their arms. The army of the western Pyrenées has in its turn vanquished the Spanish hordes: a handful of republicans has obliged a garrison of thrice their number, surrounded and secured by fortifications celebrated on account of their strength and importance, to capitulate.

"You cannot forget, citizens, that the tyrants of Castille, within the short space of a single year, menaced Perpignan and Bayonne at one and the same time, the first of which places was betrayed, and the second undefended. Armies either disorganised or incomplete formed our sole stay in that quarter; but the conquerors of Toulon appeared, and the troops of the eastern Pyrenées elevated themselves to the height of glory obtained by the other armies of the republic. That of the western Pyrenées was formed in silence, was organised amidst engagements, and became electrified by the example of its rivals in fame: it had difficult positions to maintain, nearly insurmountable obstacles to conquer, troops to furnish for La Vendée and Perpignan, multiplied redoubts to get possession of, a broad and difficult river to cross, rocks and cannon to oppose, and fortified cities in the midst of barren deserts to take by assault. None of these obstacles could stop its progress; it heard the voice of the national convention publishing the exploits of the other armies, and exclaimed—We, we also, shall vanquish the tyrants!

"I now inform you that it has vanquished them; for part of the Spaniards lie breathless on the field of battle! another part has entered into a shameful capitulation, and laid down its arms before the victorious republicans; a third has betaken itself to flight, abandoning at the same time all its magazines! It is in vain that our troops now search for the Spanish army; for the wreck of it has fled to St. Sebastian, whither the French are in pursuit of them.

"You recollect the conquest of the rich valley of Bastan, the capture of Fort Maya, and the seizure of the camp of Berra: these formed but the prelude, as it were, of a far greater victory. The plan of the attack was decisive, but the execution was

No sooner had the season for military operations arrived than the French again took the field, seized upon Vittoria, the capital of Alava, and Bilboa, the chief town of Biscay. Immediately after this the general of brigade, Miollis, crossed the Ebro, and took possession of Miranda in Old Castille, within one hundred and sixty miles of Madrid. Measures were at the same time adopted for investing the city of Pampeluna, the capital of the ancient kigdom of Navarre.

The conquest of the French had by this time assumed a degree of solidity that not only afforded great uneasiness to the court of Madrid, but even seemed to shake the monarchy to the very centre. Three provinces, two of which were formerly recognised as kingdoms, had yielded to the conqueror; and the people, and even the alcaides, submitted with a degree of facility that afforded a just cause of jealousy and dissatisfaction to the monarch. No less than six thousand Biscayans, deserting the standard of their legitimate prince, now served in the French army; the district of Cerdagna evinced the most earnest desire to become united to the French republic; while the states of Guipuscoa, although they had only stipulated at first for a neutrality during the contest, yet began to evince an adherence to popular forms and pretensions that could not but be unpleasing to the sovereign destined to preside over an arbitrary government. The French

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equally difficult and dangerous. It was necessary to assault a mountain covered with cannon and troops; a mountain that projected over the Bidossoa, and was defended by thirty formidable field-works, called the redoubts of St. Martial and Yrun. It was audacious, it was an idea truly republican, to attack at one and the same time this ample theatre of artillery, these redoubts and a Spanish army of from fourteen to fifteen thousand men.

"You are, perhaps, doubtful of the issue; but the destiny of the republic is superior to the troops and artillery of kings. Notwithstanding Fregeville learned that two of the columns had been bewildered during a thick mist, instead of being intimidated he ordered his troops to cross a deep ravine amidst a shower of bullets and bombs, and storm the redoubts—the gunpowder was economised—the charge with bayonets was sounded, and in less than two hours the instrument invented at Bayonne made us masters of all the works of the enemy!"

too, by the suppression of tithes in one portion of the conquered country *, held out the hopes of exemption in all, and thus exhibited a marked contrast to the burdensome imposts recurred to for the support of the monarchy.

Upon the whole there can be but little doubt that Europe would have beheld an Iberian republic organised within her bosom, had not Charles IV. partly from displeasure at the conduct of Great Britain in respect to Toulon, and partly from a dread of future events, determined to sacrifice his personal resentments to the security of his throne. His majesty accordingly recurred at length to those very maxims which had produced the disgrace of the count D'Aranda, and were now fated, by the waywardness of fortune, to consolidate the power and increase the titles of the duke of Alcudia.

The neutral powers too, were ready to recognise a government so capable of rendering itself respected ; and the regent of Sweden not only sent an ambassador † to Paris to compliment the convention in the name of his nephew Gustavus Adolphus IV. but is also reported to have signified a wish to enter into a close alliance with the republic. The kings of Sweden had long received pecuniary assistance from the monarchs of France ; and the successor of Gustavus II. with whom had originated the war of kings, did not disdain to stipulate for a subsidy from the new commonwealth ‡.

From this memorable period the contest assumed a new form, and all the governments of Europe, that of England alone excepted, now breathed a fervent and sincere wish for peace. The king of Great Britain, as elector of Hanover, had however been careful to notify his accession to the treaty concluded between France and Prussia, and soon after issued the most peremptory orders for the removal of all the armed emigrants from his territories.

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* Cerdagna. † The baron de Stael.

‡ See Tableau Hist. et Politique de L'Europe, par L. P. Segur, ex-ambassadeur, t. III.

## CHAP. II.

*Treaty with the Insurgent Chiefs—Review of the Vendéan War.*

THE Thermidorean revolution, in consequence of which Robespierre and his accomplices, from being executioners, became in their turn victims, made but little alteration in the military operations, but produced an entire change in the domestic policy, of France. The law of the maximum was repealed; the suspended deputies were restored to their seats in the convention; Lebon, Carrier, Fouquier-Tinville the president, and most of the members of the revolutionary tribunal, were put to death; and the Pantheon was in some measure purified by the removal of the body of the execrable Marat from under its superb dome.

THE revolted cities also experienced the clemency of the victorious party: for Toulon began once more to be cherished; deputies* were sent to Marseilles on purpose to put an end to the calamities with which that ancient emporium had been afflicted; while the decree voting a column of infamy was repealed, and the name, although not the former splendour, of Lyons recovered.

SOME efforts were also made at the same time to restore the liberty of the press, and with it liberty of conscience. Toleration in matters of religion began to be practised as well as professed, while a meliorated system in all the offices of the state permitted the people to indulge a hope that the reign of terror was at an end.

EFFICACIOUS measures had been for some time adopted to quiet the insurgent districts, and extinguish the flames which had so long consumed a tract of country consisting of many departments, but stigmatised under the name of La Vendée. Two generals†, at once endowed with military talents and humanity, were employed upon this occasion to sooth the horrors of civil war; and the asylum now afforded to that

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* Angius and Serres. † Canclaux and Hoche.

portion of the Catholic priesthood which had been hitherto considered and punished as refractory, helped not a little to promote the pacification that ensued. But in addition to other modes of conciliation, the punishment of one man * who had persecuted the inhabitants with a degree of barbarity until then unheard of in modern times, contributed in a powerful manner to induce the peasantry, and consequently the chiefs, to suspend a conflict, of which it is now time to trace the origin and progress.

The Vendéan war, which commenced in Poitou, and at one time extended to several of the neighbouring provinces, has been traced to a variety of causes ; but the prejudices of the provincial nobility, the pertinacity of the refractory priesthood, and above all the ignorance and superstition of the unhappy peasantry, may fairly be considered as the chief. All the materials were collected from the very beginning of the revolution : it was not, however, until the enaction of the impolitic decrees relative to the clergy, and the arrest, imprisonment, and trial of the king, that they blazed into a flame.

As the Catholic priests were the most zealous promoters and partizans of the insurrection, so a retainer of the church was the first chief of the Vendéans. Having put himself at the head of the malecontents of Lower Poitou, Catineau seized upon Beaupreau on the 10th of May, 1793, and immediately displayed the standard of revolt from the steeple of that edifice where he had so lately officiated in the humble capacity of sacristan. But the fortune of the war was not to be entrusted to hands consecrated to the chalice ; he was therefore placed under the superintendance of Duhoux, D'Hauterive, and D'Elbée, who laboured to give a systematic direction to the efforts of an undisciplined multitude ; and no sooner had the army of the royalists been organized, than he voluntarily resigned the command to the Marquis de Bonchamp, a young nobleman of Angers, who had been a captain in the regiment of Aquitaine.

Their success was at first astonishing ; for neither able

* Carrier.

generals nor experienced soldiers could be spared to quell what was considered merely as a temporary commotion. At length a few successful skirmishes, which produced the same effect on raw levies as so many brilliant victories, contributed to multiply the numbers, magnify the exploits, and increase the resources, of the disaffected. Some of the regiments sent against them by the convention began to be infected by their principles; the national guards indeed resisted the seduction, but many of the troops of the line deserted to them, and the foreigners in the French service went over in large bodies; the legion of Rosental in particular repaired in crowds to the white standard, while the greater part of the Germanic legion, especially the cavalry, withdrew in a body within their limits. A corps of infantry of this description assumed the appellation of "avengers of the crown;" and as they hoped not for mercy, they fought with an uncommon degree of bitterness, neither giving nor receiving quarter.

No longer content with petty expeditions and predatory excursions during the night, the Catholic and Royal army, as it was now called, prepared for greater atchievements, and after a signal victory on the 29th of May, actually took possession of the chief town in the department, which for some time became their head quarters.

From this moment the Vendéan war began to exhibit a degree of consistency highly inauspicious to the stability of the republic. A sovereign council, consisting of generals, priests, and civilians, assembled at Chatillon, and not only directed the operations of the army, but concentrated all authority within itself. Bernard de Marigny, nephew to the admiral of the same name, presided at this board; and Lescure, Stofflet, D'Elbée, Fleuriot, Beauchamp, and others, assisted with their presence, influence, and advice. By these the ancient laws were substituted in the place of the new code, all acts of authority were proclaimed in the name of Louis XVII. and an assignat was not permitted to have currency unless sanctioned with their signature.

The insurgent army now began to assume a new form, and the deluded peasantry were classed into communes and divisions. Content with the fascinating title of "defenders of the

altar and the throne," an abundance of gratuitous masses, some occasional plunder, the assurance of being invulnerable in battle and admitted to the participation of eternal happiness hereafter, they encountered toils and difficulties with an heroic constancy; and but little anxious for money, were satisfied with the rations of provisions distributed among them. Regular battalions of infantry, squadrons of cavalry, and even regiments of artillery, were formed from among the foreign deserters; some few of these vied with the best troops in Europe in point of discipline; and they were regularly paid, and even billetted.

The same end was sought by all; the exclusive establishment of the Catholic religion, and the plenary restoration of royalty and nobility: the leaders differed however about the means, and many of them, actuated by personal ambition, aspired to the supreme command, to the entire exclusion of their colleagues. Talmont and d'Autichamp imagined that their birth entitled them to superiority; Charette piqued himself upon his military talents and the number of his followers; but D'Elbée, who united the pride of family with acknowledged abilities, was elected generalissimo. In consequence of this difference among the chiefs, two distinct bodies of troops were now formed: the Catholic and Royal army of Anjou and Upper Poitou, led by D'Elbée; and the army of Jesus, or Lower Poitou, under the direction of Charette. A consummate general, the former of these always fought in a manner conformable to the nature of the country and the genius of the people; he was gifted with a ready eloquence, and not unfrequently recurred to the pious fraud of inspiration to obtain the confidence of his soldiers: the latter was brave and full of stratagems; but he was cruel, and partly from his excessive ambition, and partly from his hatred to the commander in chief, sacrificed the common cause.

To oppose such a formidable rebellion, detachments were sent from the northern departments, and several battalions of national guards, cavalry, and chasseurs, being collected together, formed what was called "the army of the West." These troops, drawn up in form of a semi-circle, endeavoured to pierce the revolted provinces on all points, and on all points

were constantly defeated. The Vendéans at length becoming assailants in their turn, appeared on the plains in large unbroken masses of from twenty to thirty thousand men; while one army * menaced Nantes, and advanced under the cannon of Les Sables, another seized on Saumur, after a battle in which the republicans are said to have lost twenty-three thousand men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, and committed the most shocking atrocities.

The republican troops were thus discomfited on all sides. General Chalbot, beaten under the walls of Fontenay, lost fifteen hundred men, a prodigious number of fire-arms, and from twenty-five to thirty cannon: general Quetineau, with nearly six thousand troops, although stationed within Thouars, only resisted two hours; and with the possession of this place the insurgents obtained an accession of seven thousand muskets and twelve pieces of artillery. Nor was Menou, afterwards the successor, but not the rival, of Bonaparte in Egypt, more fortunate, although invested with the chief command, and supported by a considerable army; for he found himself unable to defend a town †, the capture of which emboldened the insurgents to cross a river hitherto the boundary of their incursions.

After remaining ten days at Saumur, the Vendéans directed their march towards the right bank of the Loire, and having first menaced Tours, took possession of Angers. At length the siege of Nantes ‡ was resolved upon in June, and the insurgents appeared before that place at a period when every thing seemed auspicious to the royal cause. The only

* That of Charette.

† Saumur.

‡ At the epoch when this city was attacked, the insurgents were at the height of their power, and its capture would have been considered as the signal of a general insurrection in Britany. Had that event taken place, the castle of O, and Painbœuf, on the Loire, and all the fortified ports on the coast, would have also fallen into the hands of the Vendéans.

The cause of the miscarriage originated partly in the disputes among the leaders, and partly in the folly of permitting the peasantry, contrary to the usual custom, to remain in the great towns: the insurgents in Saumur found a Capua.

fortifications consisted of a few ditches and some mounds of earth thrown up in haste ; the cannon were supplied from the navy, and the garrison was composed of about ten thousand men, mostly national guards. On the other hand the besieging army amounted to at least thirty thousand troops under D'Elbée, to whose standard victory had been ever faithful from the commencement of the war ; a second body of nearly equal force, commanded by Charette, also invested the city ; but the assailants were utterly ignorant of the art of attacking fortified places, and but ill prepared for the attempt, so that the republican generals, Canclaux and Bonvoust, by their gallant defence and skilful exertions, saved this important town, and perhaps the republic also, from destruction.

It was now determined to put an end to the war of La Vendée ; and Biron, a general of great experience, was sent thither expressly for that purpose. On his arrival he obtained some advantages at Lucon, and soon after established his head-quarters at Niort, where he collected about sixteen thousand chosen men. Having confided his advanced guard to Westermann, who had commanded at the attack on the Tuilleries, the latter surprised one of the Vendéan chiefs, and also obtained possession of Parthenay ; but this officer, who possessed no other qualification than courage, suffered himself to be surrounded a short time after, in consequence of which his cannon were taken, his infantry was cut to pieces, and he himself escaped with great difficulty at the head of his horse. The events of that day deprived Westermann of his command ; but they proved still more fatal to the general, who was accused of remaining inactive while his van was sacrificed at Chatillon, and one of his detachments completely beaten at Vihiers. On this Biron was recalled and sacrificed to the suspicions of his enemies.

Thus in the course of a few months the insurrection in La-Vendée began to assume the shape and consistency of a formidable rebellion. Ten general actions, and more than sixty skirmishes ; the death of one hundred thousand royalists ; even the plunder, burning, and devastation of the country ; did not enable the republicans to quell a sedition originating in the prejudices of a superstitious peasantry.

The national guards, regularly armed and accoutred, had at the very beginning given way to the fanaticism of men wielding the instruments of husbandry; the troops of the line were content to maintain a doubtful conflict with a desperate multitude, sometimes victors and sometimes vanquished; the fresh supplies of troops brought post from Paris and the adjoining departments, had either joined the royalists or yielded to the superiority of their numbers; many thousand republicans had already perished in this terrible conflict; and the war with the Vendéans alone already appeared more terrible and even more destructive than that against all the combined kings.

At length this disastrous contest alarmed all the fears, and occupied all the attention, of the ruling party. On the arrest of Biron, recourse was had to generals of another description; and while this celebrated man expiated his ill fortune and his noble birth by a premature death, it was determined to entrust none but plebeians with the management of the war. Rossignol, formerly a journeyman goldsmith, was accordingly appointed to the command of the army of Brest, and immediately established his head-quarters at Saumur, where he collected his scattered forces. After this he took the field, and commenced his operations by the capture of Doué. While this first glimmering of success inspired the new general with a spirit of enterprise, the chiefs of the insurgents, who, if cordially united, might perhaps have regulated the fate of France, were once more divided at this critical period by their personal jealousies, and contended for superiority with a pertinacity little to be expected from men the thread of whose lives was in hourly danger of being cut either by the sabre or the guillotine, and who, after every unsuccessful battle, were hunted down like so many wild beasts. The prince de Talmont, who possessed large estates on the right bank of the Loire, and had atchieved some brilliant exploits, after crossing that river, still aspired to the supreme command, although D'Elbée, the general in chief, had released him from a dungeon in Angers. Lescure, who was rescued by Stofflet from a similar confinement in the prison of Bressuire, and

had lately displayed equal bravery and conduct in an action before Thouars*, where he had foiled a superior army of veterans, was also a candidate for the same dangerous pre-eminence. Another appeared in the person of the chevalier D'Autichamp, who from the beginning of the contest had urged the necessity of crossing the Loire, and either marching straight to Paris, or securing a seaport in order to keep up a communication with foreign powers. The fourth was Charette, originally a lieutenant in the French marine, and famous in consequence of his successes against the republican general Beysser, as well as by the desperate valour rather than the professional knowledge displayed by him upon all occasions.

At this period too, fresh reinforcements were pouring in from all parts of the empire; and the garrison of Mentz, which had not been precluded by the king of Prussia from serving against La Vendée, added to the number, the strength, and the confidence of the republicans. Measures of extraordinary severity, and such as neither justice nor policy can sanction, were recurred to by the convention at this epoch. Fire as well as the sword was now to be carried into the recesses of La Vendée; the banditti, as they had been called, were to be pursued to their most secret retreats; the villages which afforded them occasional shelter were doomed to be destroyed, the granaries to be burnt, the wind-mills and ovens to be thrown down, the cattle and crops to be seized, and the peaceable part of the inhabitants to be removed.

The representatives on mission accordingly convoked a council of war, consisting of eleven deputies and eleven officers, and deliberated on the expediency of a general assault. The members were divided in their opinion concerning the side on which the enemy ought to be attacked: Canclaux was for commencing operations by the west, which was opposed by Menou; others thought Doué was the point whence they could begin with most advantage; while Turreau observed, "that as the country occupied by the rebels formed a kind of

* September 25, 1793.

square, of which the sea and the Loire constituted two sides, they ought to close upon and drive them into the angle formed by these two natural barriers, by commencing the assault from the opposite quarter."

The first of these plans being preferred, the direction devolved on general Canclaux, who entered La Vendée on the side of Nantes, with three columns, and after carrying Sainpen Lege and Machecoul, proposed to unite all his forces and proceed against Chollet, the centre of the insurrection.

On this, the Vendéan chiefs appear for a moment to have suspended their animosities, and to have united their efforts against the common enemy. General Beysser, who led one of the invading columns, was surprised at Montaigu; Canclaux, who had by this time obtained possession of Clisson, on hearing of the disaster, prepared immediately to fall back, but he himself being also attacked, effected his retreat in disorder, and not only beheld his baggage carried off, and his wounded strangled with impunity, but was forced to take shelter under the cannon of Nantes. A few days after this, Rossignol was assaulted at Doué by a division of the grand catholic and royal army, and was indebted for an easy victory over the prince de Talmont and M. D'Autichamp to an officer of engineers*, who arranged the troops, disposed the artillery, and took post on a commanding eminence.

Santerre, lately a brewer in Paris, now advanced against Coron with a body of troops forming a single column, and headed by the representatives of the people, on purpose to profit by the late victory. Having driven the insurgents from this town, he himself was soon after attacked there by a body of about thirty thousand men, who advanced in form of a crescent, and counteracted the effects of a battery of two twelve-pounders and two mortars erected on the great road, by three eight-pounders stationed in their centre, and served with great precision. After an engagement of nearly an hour, the republican army was routed; and while the regular troops

* General D'Ambarere.

left some of their muskets and most of their artillery behind them, the peasantry, who had been raised in mass, stuck their pikes into the ground, and retired without fighting.

Notwithstanding this reverse of fortune, Lechelle, originally a fencing-master at Saintes, and but little acquainted with the military art, being invested with the chief command of the army of the West by Bouchet, then minister of war, penetrated to Chatillon. After taking that place, he was attacked on the 16th of October by D'Elbée, Bonchamp, and Stofflet, who had assembled the wreck of the catholic and royal army, which, notwithstanding all its defeats, still amounted to forty thousand men. The dispositions made to receive this formidable body, led on by so many gallant chiefs, were not such as to entitle the republicans to conquest, and victory actually appeared during two hours to incline to the assailants; but Merlin and the other deputies placing themselves at the head of the troops, and D'Elbée, Bonchamp, and some of the principal royalists, being wounded the Vendéans were at length defeated. Charette and Talmont having declined either to form a junction with or to support the confederates by means of a diversion, their cause now seemed desperate; and thus a general possessed of courage, but totally destitute of genius and experience, appeared to be destined to put an end to the commotions that had so long distracted the republic.

But although the insurgents were dispersed, they were not destroyed; they had disappeared indeed, but they were still in existence, and burned with an implacable fury to renew the contest and resume their ancient preponderance. Fortune too seemed at length to regulate her decisions by the standard of merit; and Lechelle, who had hitherto triumphed in opposition to all the rules of war, was overcome under the walls of Chollet, the scene of his former triumphs. On this the representatives with his army, first suspended him from all his functions, and then imprisoned him at Nantes, where he died soon after of chagrin.

Charette, who had lately kept aloof and beheld the other chiefs sacrificed without an attempt to succour them, now marched at the head of the insurgents of Lower Poitou,

and taking advantage of the absence of the army of Rochelle, seized on the islands of Bouin and Noirmoutier, which enabled him, if necessary, to carry on a correspondence with England, and although he was successively beaten by Haxo, Dutruy, and Dufour, and even lost the former of these acquisitions, yet he appeared after all with an army nearly as vigorous and as formidable as before.

In the mean time, the bulk of the republican forces having crossed the Loire in search of Talmont, the Vendéans crept from their lurking-holes, began to assemble in bodies, and in a short time resumed all their former audacity. The army of the West, on the contrary, began to diminish greatly in respect to numbers; the cavalry, wearied out with the fatigue of the campaign, stood in need of repose, while the infantry had suffered greatly by forced marches in a close country, and a series of engagements unequalled in the history of any similar contest; in short, in many of the corps the number of commissioned and non-commissioned officers exceeded that of the soldiers, so that one hundred and fifty-seven squadrons, battalions, or regiments, formed scarcely forty thousand individuals*. A division of ten thousand men had been indeed dispatched from the army of the North, to supply the loss of the brave garrison of Mentz, most of which had been already cut off; but this reinforcement was not only totally unacquainted with the nature of the country and the mode of warfare it now became necessary to recur to, but wholly incapable of following the rapid movements of so alert an enemy. In addition to these disadvantages, the frequent change of commanders prevented the plans of conquest from being matured, and precluded any of the leaders from acquiring a sufficient knowledge either of the manners of the inhabitants or the genius of the war; so rapid indeed was the succession, that no less than three generals in chief, and three provisional ones, appeared at the head of the republican army within the space of a quarter of a year.

Danican commenced his military career under auspicious

* Mémoires, &c. par Turreau.

circumstances, and displayed a degree of moderation that rendered his name dear to the friends of humanity. Instead of persevering in the system of cruelty with which many of his predecessors had disgraced their command, he frequently invoked the authority of the convention to punish the authors of the crimes committed in the name of liberty at Nantes and throughout La Vendée; but as he was suspected of a secret attachment to the cause of the royalists, and suffered himself to be beaten about this period at Martigné, his remonstrances were unfortunately productive of little benefit, and although he afterwards overcame the same foe before Angers, he was recalled and disgraced.

Marceau, a general of division scarcely twenty-four years of age, was then invested with the provisional command, and fought a long and bloody battle, in which he defeated the insurgents, led by the prince of Talmont, with great slaughter, and would have nearly exterminated them, had it not been for the exemplary conduct of a young royalist*, who with a courage worthy of those days of chivalry which he adored, secured the retreat of the fugitives, and succeeded in conducting them back to the almost inaccessible woods of La Vendée.

The victor, whose talents were so admirably calculated to repress, if not extinguish, the insurrection, was immediately recalled on purpose to superintend the operations of the army of the Ardennes. He was succeeded by an officer who had formerly acted as adjutant-general in the insurgent departments, and since commanded the troops in the eastern Pyrenées; this was Turreau, who, like most of his predecessors, began his new career with a brilliant exploit. Having received orders from the minister at war to retake Noirmoutier, situated at the mouth of the Loire, he accordingly made a descent with a body of about three thousand light troops, while Carpentier, in pursuance of his orders, attacked Charette at Machecoul, in his way to the relief of that island. After effecting a landing with the loss of a few men, he proceeded against the principal village, placed in the midst of salt-

* La Roche-Jacquelin.

pits, and protected by about twelve hundred men and nearly twenty pieces of artillery; but although the garrison at first exhibited a show of resistance, yet, being unacquainted with the defence of fortifications, they abandoned the lines without firing a single shot—an instance of cowardice that embittered the last moments of D'Elbée, the celebrated Vendéan chief and generalissimo of all the forces beyond the Loire, who was now languishing in his bed in consequence of a mortal wound. Viellaud, D'Hauterive, and some other of the leaders, were also taken prisoners; and Catheliniere, one of Charette's confidential officers, fell into the hands of Turreau soon after.

In the mean time, Laroche-Jacquelin, Stofflet, and Bernard de Marigny, traversed the insurgent districts, and endeavoured to collect and reorganise the fugitives. They only waited the return of spring, and the arrival of the ammunition and warlike stores expected from England, to attack the republican posts now established in the centre of La Vendée in mass as before, while they employed themselves during winter in a petty warfare against patroles, escorts, and convoys.

The wreck of the grand catholic and royal army was now divided into three circles in consequence of the death of D'Elbée, and commanded by Stofflet, La Roche Jacquelin, and Bernard de Marigny; while Charette, who made war like a freebooter rather than a general, and on whom thirty successive defeats had hitherto made but little impression, still maintained the terror of his name, and roamed amidst the woods at the head of a body of faithful followers.

General Turreau, flushed with his recent success at Noirmoutier, drew up a general plan, the object of which was to deprive the insurgents of every kind of resource, and by occupying the chief points of the circumference of the revolted country, and making simultaneous irruptions with different columns towards the centre, either to drive them from their fastnesses, or leave only the choice of death by famine or the sword. He accordingly endeavoured to carry his ideas into execution, and after fixing his cantonments on the right bank of the Loire, and stationing the generals Haxo and Dutruy at Challans and Machecoul, prepared for the combined

march of twelve columns, composed of about fifteen thousand of his best troops; while the representative La Planche enjoined all the civil officers in the neighbourhood to carry off the provisions, which the Vendéans obstinately refused to barter against paper money.

In the mean time the convention, wishing to accelerate the motions of the army of the west, issued an order equally peremptory and ridiculous, "that the war of La Vendée should be finished within a month." The generals were obliged to precipitate their operations in conformity to this injunction, and accordingly began their march. But so incompetent did the force employed prove to the reduction of the insurgents, that the moveable columns were obliged to advance in parallel lines, to march and halt at the same time; and so uncertain were they in respect to the numbers, the plans, and the disposition of the enemy, that all the intervals were filled up by the flank companies, in such a manner as to present a continual order of battle.

Two detachments of the republicans having penetrated to Chollet, La Roche-Jacquelin, one of the most intrepid of the Vendéan chiefs, glided with a body of troops, during the night, between two others, fell on the rear of Turreau, and seized on the town of Chemillé, the garrison of which abandoned it without firing a gun.

Notwithstanding this diversion, the general ordered the two columns at Chollet to attack Charrette by the east, while two others, still more numerous, were to advance against him by the west. But it was difficult to find this chief, and still more so to bring him to action. To-day he appeared at the head of ten thousand men, giving chace to a flying enemy, to-morrow he would retreat with only twenty horsemen; at present he was in front, and in a few hours more in the flank or the rear, of his antagonist. In avoiding general Duquesnoy, now in full pursuit of him, he fell upon Legé, the advanced post of general Haxo, which he carried, occupied, and abandoned in succession. Overtaken at Pont James, he was at length compelled to give battle, and although vanquished with the loss of eight hundred men, yet he found means to conduct the main body of his army in safety to the Bocage.

In the mean time, Stofflet, another adventurer, who quitting the station of a game-keeper, had acquired some celebrity and even skill in war by more than one hundred different actions, prepared to attack Chollet. He accordingly appeared before it, and such was the terror of his name, and the ferocity of his followers, that the garrison, instead of defending the place, notwithstanding the threats and entreaties of the general of division who commanded there, fled after the first discharge of musquetry. The gallant Moulin, indignant at the cowardice of his troops, and wounded at the same time by two shot from the enemy, into whose hands he was about to fall, immediately snatched a pistol from his belt, and by a voluntary death prevented those torments which the barbarians had reserved for him*. The Vendéans, however, instead of reaping a complete victory, as they had imagined, were in their turn overcome by a detachment under general Cordellier, who made a vigorous charge on the victors, drove them fom Chollet, and pursued them to the distance of two leagues with his light troops.

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* No sooner did intelligence of this event reach Paris than the convention decreed that "the memory of Moulin was dear to his country." Orders were at the same time given for erecting a tomb to his honour at Tiffanges, with the following inscription, in which it is endeavoured to identify the crimes of individuals with their cause :

SACRED TO THE MEMORY
OF
MOULIN,
A GENERAL OF BRIGADE IN
THE ARMY OF
LA VENDE'E :
A REPUBLICAN WHO
EMBRACED DEATH
THAT HE MIGHT NOT FALL ALIVE
INTO THE HANDS OF THE
RUFFIAN ROYALISTS.

(Republicain, il se donna la mort, pour ne pas tomber vivant au pouvoir des brigands royalistes.)

Charette, although beaten, still remained unsubdued, and the general in chief once more marched to attack him at Luc; but on advancing against that place he found that he had gained his rear and taken post at St. Philibert-de-Boué. A rapid counter-march brought him to the neighbourhood of the latter station, but the enemy had already decamped. However, an action appeared inevitable, and a skirmish actually commenced on the part of the marksmen of the republican army; yet Charette, as usual, avoided a general engagement, and for the present eluded all the efforts of Turreau. At length, being pursued and pressed on every side, he was overtaken on the 26th of April, 1794, and defeated by a body of troops commanded by general Haxo, who on that day lost his life *. On the other hand Stofflet, after having twice overcome general Grignon, was twice beaten by the latter; while Charette, whether victorious or vanquished still cherishing the same inveterate hatred to the republicans, was once more foiled at Challans, and retired again, with his usual good fortune, into the strong woody country denominated the Bocage. About the same time, the adjutant-general Dusirat was worsted by Stofflet and Marigny, near Mount Glône; and Turreau, now accused of cruelty, being unable to finish the war notwithstanding his plausible system of entrenched camps and moveable columns, was recalled.

Thus, notwithstanding La Vendée was attacked on all sides, the flame of rebellion still remained unquenched, and the combustibles of civil war being thus condensed into a focus, blazed out from time to time, as if to demonstrate anew that persecution and injustice are unable to overcome the furies of fanaticism. Although a girdle of fire seemed now to con-

* This victory appears to have been equivocal, notwithstanding the positive assertions of Turreau, then commander in chief; for the Vendéans not only remained in the same district as before, but Haxo actually killed himself, like Moulin, to prevent his falling into the hands of the enemy. The convention soon after decreed, that his name should be inscribed on a column erected to perpetuate his memory, in the middle of the Pantheon.

sume the insurgent districts; although the Vendéans were at this moment confined within a desolate circle, where they perished by a series of the most cruel evils that ever afflicted humanity, the avenging steel of the republicans, an epidemical disease assuming the appearance of the leprosy, and a penury of subsistence that might well be termed famine; yet with minds still unsubdued, and arms unnerved by this combination of calamities, they still breathed unceasing vengeance, and were ready to start even from the bed of sickness to encounter a certain death at the bidding of the priests and the nobles.

The contest by this time had assumed the most ferocious aspect on both sides. The insurgents conducted their hostilities with a degree of savage ferocity, unexampled for ages in modern Europe, anterior to the wars of the French revolution. All the republican prisoners, even those who had not carried arms, finished their lives in dreadful and prolonged tortures. Every cruel device which the most rancorous ingenuity could invent, was perpetrated on the mutilated bodies of their expiring enemies, in the name of the catholic faith and Louis XVII. Some of the priests, although professing a mild and beneficent religion, instead of preventing these horrors, instigated to the perpetration of new barbarities, and upholding the cross in their unhallowed hands, conjured their blood-stained flock to persevere in their crimes. After the manner of the savage Indians too, the women were called in to participate in these horrid rites; and when the sufferings of the captives were to be heightened by any new refinement in cruelty, the female sex was incited to inflict additional pangs, and protract the agonies of the victim without bereaving him of his life. Some of the leaders, however, were not exempt from humanity. The brave D'Elbée spared all those placed within his power by the fortune of war, during the first five months of his career; and at length put his enemies to death, not from a love of vengeance, but the necessity of retaliation. The name of Charette, on the contrary, was terrible to his foes, and he exercised his power with the most savage ferocity*; but Bonchamp, although expiring

* When Charette retook Machecoul, he caused the patriots

by a wound received in battle, restored to liberty no less than four thousand of the soldiers employed by the convention.

On the other hand, the republicans recurred to means that can never be justified, or even palliated. The convention put all the inhabitants of the insurgent departments out of the protection of the laws; and no sooner did the Chouans make their appearance, than orders were issued "that they should be pursued without intermission, and put to death without quarter." Some of the deputies sent to those devoted departments acted like so many executioners rather than legislators, and more than one of the generals* appear to have cheerfully participated in their crimes. At Bressuire, Floutiere, Le Châpeigneraye, Pouzanges, Meilleray, and several other places, the habitations were delivered up to the flames, and the inhabitants to the bayonets of a furious soldiery. Grignon, a dealer in cattle anterior to the revolution, and an officer afterwards, is said to have ordered his own father-in-law to be shot. Francastel and Henty, sent on mission to the western army, commenced their bloody apostleship at Angers, and one thousand two hundred Vendéans were immolated at one time to their vengeance†. Huchet, not content with

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of that place to be assembled, and after adding to these a few prisoners taken in battle, he ordered them all to be shot, to the number of seven or eight hundred. Although the greater part of these unfortunate persons were only slightly wounded, yet they were immediately thrown into a ditch, and thus literally buried alive!

* Turreau, on commencing an expedition against the Vendéans, is said to have addressed his soldiers as follows:

"Nous entrons dans le pays des insurgés; vous y brûlerez tout, vous passerez au fil de la baïonette tous les habitans. Il peut y avoir quelques patriotes dans les pays; mais c'est égal, il faut tout sacrifier."

"We are about to enter the country of the insurgents; you are to burn every thing, and bayonet all the inhabitants. There may be indeed some few patriots among them; but notwithstanding that, the whole must be sacrificed."

† Francastel assisted Carrier in the massacre of the priests at Nantes; and he himself is said to have issued an order to bind sixty-one of the clergy of Nievre together, and drown them by means of a vessel sunk for that purpose. The following is a copy of his directions to general Grignon:

committing the most atrocious murders with his own hand, and ordering the country every where around him to be destroyed by fire, actually commanded all the members of a municipality who had repaired with their three-coloured scarfs to his camp at Sorinieres, to be shot, although they had gone thither to request his protection against the royalists.

But, nothwithstanding the reign of terror had now commenced, many of the republican party abhorred these measures as equally impolitic and cruel, and some were bold enough to denounce them openly. Phillippeaux, a deputy from the department of Sarthe, after visiting La Vendée, declared that the jacobin generals perpetuated the war by means of their crimes, and even accused the committee of public safety as the accomplice of their atrocities*.

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"Tu feras trembler les brigands auxquels il ne faut pas faire de quartier; nos prisons regorgent....Des prisonniers dans La Vendée!... Il faut incendier les maisons ecartées les moulins, surtout les châteaux; enfin, achéver la transformation de ce pays en désert.... Point de molesse ni de grâce.... Ce sont les vues de la convention."

"You must make the robbers tremble, and give them no quarter. Our prisons are crowded... What! prisoners in La Vendée!... It is necessary to burn all the lone houses, the mills, and above all the castles; in short, to transform the whole country into a desert..... Neither mildness nor clemency..... Such are the intentions of the convention."

Francastel, some time after this, assisted Carrier in organising the company of Marat at Nantes, respecting which it is only sufficient to repeat the inauguration oath of the candidate:

"Je jure que Marat, tant calomnié, ne vécut que pour la defense du peuple; que ses principes révolutionnaires sont, & séront toujours, les miens;" &c.

"I swear that Marat, so much calumniated, lived only for the defence of the people; that his revolutionary principles are, and always shall be, mine;" &c.

* The deputy Phillippeaux, in a report to the committee of public safety, dated "16 Frimaire, 2d year," remarked, that the continuance of the war was chiefly owing to the conduct of perfidious, cowardly, or weak commanders. "Generals," says he "such as Berruyer, Marcé, and Ligonnier, who were entrusted with the care of stifling the first symptoms of civil discord, favoured the rebels in every sense, in order to increase their audacity, and produce all the horrors of civil war. Quetineau," adds he, "successor to these traitors, and a discipline of the

Amidst this horrible state of uncertainty, during which the royalists and republicans triumphed alternately, such of the inhabitants as escaped exile, disease, and the sword, were obliged by turns to declare for the victors. They accordingly appeared before the advancing columns with white or three-coloured cockades in exact conformity to the principles of the invaders, and were careful to be prepared with other emblems of attachment in case of an unexpected retreat.

Thus all La Vendée was unceasingly a prey to horrors; and a portion of the French territory destined by nature to feed twenty departments, could scarcely supply the wretched remnant of its population with food.

No sooner, however, had the Thermidorean revolution taken place, and Robespierre and his ferocious satellites received the tardy punishment invoked by so many crimes, than an entire change took place in the conduct of the civil war. The convention, permitted at length to pause in the career of slaughter, and no longer terrified with the prospect of new proscriptions, determined to put an end to the bloody strife. A system of moderation, equally politic and humane, accordingly took place; and the authority of the insurgent chiefs, which remained undiminished amidst all the miseries inflicted by the desolating torch and exterminating sword, was sud-

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infamous Dumouriez, followed their steps. He delivered up Thouars with five thousand men and a considerable quantity of ammunition to the brigands. The rebels took him prisoner merely for form sake, and afterwards released him on his word of honour. He himself wore the infamous white cockade; he received the enemy's general with the fraternal embrace in the midst of our unfortunate brethren, then dying for the cause of liberty; he participated in the orgies of the royalists at the time the defenders of their country were perishing in dungeons and remained destitute of nourishment during thirty hours."

In another part of this memorable letter, Phillippeaux, who had also denounced the generals Ronsin and Rossignol, asserts, that after Montaigu had been taken by the insurgents, and the republican forces deprived of their camp equipage which was deposited there, "the troops were reduced to the necessity of lying on the bare ground, while the commanders, surrounded by players and courtesans, conducted them to a perpetual butchery."

denly sapped and diminished by the language of peace, and the prospect of conciliation.

The deputies on mission not only permitted mass to be said publicly, but cherished and protected the nonjuring clergy. Hoche, who seconded all their efforts, punished every infraction of the laws of humanity with the most exemplary severity, and prohibited the brutal custom of exhibiting the bleeding heads of the vanquished Vendéans in the front of the French columns. Nor did this general, so ardent in the field of battle, disdain to recur to the artifices of a refined policy; for he not only kept up a secret correspondence with several of the chiefs, but also took such of the confessors as possessed considerable influence into his pay. Marching at the head of a powerful army, and extending the olive-branch of peace with one hand, and the sword of war with the other, he presented both by turns to the insurgents; and while he willingly received the peasantry under his protection on a simple promise of submission, he gained over several of the leaders, some by promises, others by commissions: those who refused to yield on any terms were threatened to be reduced to subjection. It was accordingly agreed, that, in addition to the free exercise of public worship, such of the Vendéan soldiery as were of no profession should be formed into companies and receive pay; that all property under sequestration should be restored; that the debts contracted by the chiefs should be liquidated, to the amount of a million and a half of livres; that the inhabitants should be indemnified for the losses sustained; and that no requisition should extend during the space of five years to the insurgent departments*.

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* Substance of the treaty of peace, signed by Charette, on the part of the insurgent inhabitants of La Vendée, and the commissioners of the national convention, on the part of the French republic, March 7, 1795.

Article I. The representatives of the people promise, in the name of the convention, that the sum of eighty millions shall be granted to the inhabitants of La Vendée, to indemnify them for the losses, burnings, and devastations, they have suffered.

II. Forty millions shall be immediately paid and distributed.

III. All the contracts entered into between the generals and

A treaty containing these stipulations was accordingly signed at Jaulnaye near Nantes, by Charette on the part of the Vendéans, and Carmartin on behalf of the Chouans; Stofflet refused for some time to affix his signature as chief of the army of Poitou, but he also at length signified his accession†, and all the miseries of civil war seemed to have ceased for ever.

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inhabitants of La Vendée shall be discharged by the French republic.

IV. The sum of ten millions shall be deposited for that purpose.

V. The inhabitants of La Vendée acknowledge the French republic.

VI. and VII. General Charette shall have the command of a body of two thousand men in the pay of the republic, consisting of three battalions, to be stationed at Machecoul, Chalons, and a third town to be determined hereafter.

VIII. A list shall be given in of such persons as are to be banished from La Vendée; that list to be drawn up and presented by general Charette.

IX. The free exercise of the Catholic religion shall be permitted; ground may be purchased for the building of a church, but there shall not be any bells or exterior ceremonies.

X. XI. and XII. The banished nonjuring priests may return, but can only be restored to their patrimonial eſtates; there shall be no districts or municipalities, but only a national agent in La Vendée, in which no requisitions shall take place for the space of five years.

Substance of the treaty of peace between the French convention and that part of the insurgents in Britanny known by the name Chouans, April 20, 1795.

Article I. The laws for the freedom of religious worship shall be put in execution.

II. The Chouans, who have neither profession nor estate, shall be received into the armies of the republic.

III. The inhabitants of the insurgent departments shall be allowed to organize a body of chasseurs, not to exceed two thousand four hundred men.

IV. and V. The youth of the first requisition shall remain at home, and the contracts entered into by the chiefs for defraying the expences of the war shall be liquidated to the amount of one million five hundred thousand livres.

† Stofflet and his adherents, after the delay of a fortnight, transmitted the following paper:

" Acte d'accession de Stofflet á la pacification du 5 Floreal.—Nous, general en chef & officiers de l'armée Catholique & Royale de l'Anjou & du Haut Poitou, declarons qu'animés du désir de la

## CHAP. III.

*England grants a Subsidy to the Emperor—Disposition of the Armies—Surrender of Luxemburg to the French—Blockade of Mentz—Pichegru and Jourdan cross the Rhine—and are driven back by the Imperialists.*

THE late campaign may be considered as the most brilliant which had ever occurred in the annals of France; and that of 1795 promised to equal if not surpass it in point of interest and glory. Holland was now wrested from the coalition by force of arms, and Prussia by treaty; many of the petty German states had sued for forgiveness and oblivion, while the neutral powers were eager to acknowledge the authority, and solicit the alliance, of the republic. But the pacification of La Vendée, which had so long occupied the armies, and exhausted the resources of France, seemed to constitute the chief incident in this state drama; and it now began to be vaunted, that a nation which had laid combined Europe prostrate would be more than a match for two of its states.

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paix, nous n'en avons retardé la conclusion jusqu'á ce jour, que pour consulter les vœux, du peuple dont les intérêts nous étaient confiés & celui de l'armée Catholique & Royale de Bretagne. Nous adherons aux mésures prises par les représentans pour la pacification des départemens insurgés, & nous somettant aux loix de la République une & indivisible, promettant de ne jamais porter les armes contre elle, & de remettre dans le plus bref delai notre artillerie, &c.

(Signé)

" STOFFLET, " PERERE, " CHETOU,
" DE BEAUVAIS, " DUPOUET, " CADY,
" MICHELIN, " LEGRAY, " FORESTIER THIBAULT,
" CERIS, " FOUGERAY, " GIRAULT,
" GUICHARD, " DUMESNIL, " ROBERT," &c.
" L'HUILLIER, " PALIERNE,

We, the general in chief and officers of the Catholic and Royal army of Anjou and Upper Poitou, declare, that, animated with the desire of peace, &c.

As the head of the house of Brandenburg had withdrawn from the league, the cabinet of England, justly alarmed at the idea of being left to contend alone against France, was under the necessity of listening to the demands of Austria, which had already received an advance of two hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling in the course of the former campaign*. A convention was accordingly signed at Vienna, in which, after stating, "that that emperor and the king of Great Britain were equally convinced of the necessity of acting with vigor and energy against the common enemy, in order to procure to their respective dominions a safe and honourable peace," the latter engages to propose to his parliament to guarantee the regular payment of the half-yearly dividends on the sum of four millions six hundred thousand pounds sterling, to be raised on account of the former. In return for this, it was stipulated on the part of his Imperial majesty, "that he shall employ in his different armies, in the ensuing campaign, a number of troops, which shall amount at least to two hundred thousand effective men;" and these were to act against the common enemy, according to the dispositions agreed upon in a secret article. This agreement was fully completed on the part of the emperor, who immediately recruited his forces, strengthened his garrisons, and not only brought a numerous and well-disciplined army into the field, but conducted himself during the whole of the campaign with exemplary fidelity.

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* Return to the order of the honourable house of commons, of the 4th of May, 1795, "for an acount of the different sums of money that have been paid to the emperor, or the commanders of his Imperial majesty's forces, at different times during the present war; together with the dates of such payments."

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|---|---|---|
| 1794, | September 18, | £. 50,000 |
| | October 30, | 50,000 |
| | November 19, | 50,000 |
| | December 18, | 100,000 |
| 1795, | February 6, | 50,000 |
| | ——21, | 50,000 |
| | ——22, | 100,000 |
| | | £. 550,000 |

As the season for taking the field now approached, the French convention determined to regulate the position and the command of the troops. The army of the Sambre and Meuse was accordingly confided to Jourdan; that of the North to Moreau; and that of the Rhine and Moselle to Pichegru; who, in case of a junction, was to act as generalissimo. The armies of the Alps and Italy were united under Kellerman; the army of the Eastern Pyrenées was to be led by general Scherer, and that of the Western by Marceau; while Conclaux was to command a body of troops in the neighbourhood of the insurgent departments, and Hoche to be entrusted with the direction of the joint armies of the coasts of Brest and Cherbourg.

The campaign commenced on the side of Flanders, with a most important conquest.

The French determined to obtain possession of Luxemburg, without which they were unable to secure the possession of the Austrian Netherlands. This fortress, which had been formerly taken by the same nation, and restored to the house of Austria by the treaty of Utrecht, was now deemed nearly impregnable. Aware that its reduction was extremely difficult, and that it would be easier subdued by famine than the sword, the republican generals had cut off all supplies, and left a numerous garrison to subsist entirely on its own magazines. It was now regularly invested, and notwithstanding the field-marshal Bender, a veteran general, commanded in the place, yet he found himself under the necessity of capitulating, as there was not the most distant prospect of being relieved.

Nothing seemed wanting to complete the glory of the French arms, and secure their recent acquisitions, but the subjection of a city lately wrested from them by the king of Prussia. The blockade of Mentz was accordingly the first operation that took place on the frontiers of Germany. The defence of that place, formerly entrusted to the troops of the house of Brandenburg, had now devolved upon the emperor, and his majesty was pleased to select marshal Clairfayt, as the most able officer to whom he could confide the command of the troops collected for that purpose. This general, who had

been driven at the latter end of last campaign across the Rhine, being now placed at the head of the Austrian army, as well as that of the empire, returned to the charge, and, nothing dismayed by his recent defeats, attacked and routed the French who were posted upon the heights of Mornbach, after which he occupied that advantageous position with his own forces.

NOTWITHSTANDING this, Germany was soon after menaced with a new invasion, and Mentz with a new siege, by two of the greatest commanders in the service of the republic. After a considerable time had elapsed in preparation, a large portion of the army of the Sambre and Meuse suddenly crossed the Rhine, in the neighbourhood of Dusseldorff. That city was immediately summoned, and, having refused to surrender, was taken by assault, the Austrian garrison having previously retired. The duchy of Berg was also overrun; a large quantity of ammunition and artillery belonging to the enemy fell into the hands of the invaders, and the Imperialists retiring on every side, Mentz was again invested.

No sooner had Pichegru received intelligence of these exploits, than he also crossed the Rhine with his army, advanced against Manheim, and obtained possession of that important city, with a degree of facility so disproportionate to the strength of the place, that it was evident he must have been favoured by the good wishes at least of the inhabitants. On this, general Wurmser, who was advancing by rapid marches to its relief, endeavoured to form a junction with marshal Clairfayt, but he was overtaken and defeated by a detachment of the army of the Rhine and Moselle. The French, however, were surprised and overcome in their turn; and in consequence of one of those sudden reverses, so common in all wars, but more especially during the present, the fortune of the campaign, from being highly disastrous, became at length eminently propitious to the Imperial arms.

PICHEGRU being no longer able to second the efforts of Jourdan, the latter was under the necessity of raising the siege of Mentz, and retreating before the victorious Austrians to Dusseldorff, where he repassed the Rhine; while the former fell back upon Manheim, and after leaving a conside-

rable garrison in that place, and sustaining a number of sanguinary attacks, was happy to escape across that river also.

Marshal Clairfayt, who was not unmindful of the great object of the campaign, appearing before Mentz, attacked and carried the entrenched camp which the French had endeavoured to render inexpugnable by the labours of eleven months. General Schaal, who occupied this strong position on the retreat of Jourdan, with fifty-two battalions of infantry and five regiments of cavalry, was obliged to retire, and leave one hundred and six pieces of cannon, two hundred ammunition waggons, and about two thousand prisoners, among whom were two generals, in the hands of the assailants.

Notwithstanding the disasters sustained by the French army, the garrison of Manheim, consisting of about nine thousand men, contrived to make a stout resistance. The Imperialists at length obtained possession of an entrenched hill called the Gulyenberg by assault, as well as the Necker fort; but although they were driven from the latter, they persevered with unabating ardour, and after a long siege obliged this important city to capitulate.

In the mean time marshal Clairfayt and general Wurmser had crossed the Rhine in pursuit of the French, and having formed a junction, resumed possession of the Palatinate, reconquered many of the acquisitions of the French, and even threatened to retake Luxemburg. On this, Pichegru and Jourdan, after receiving the necessary reinforcements, marched to encounter the triumphant enemy. The former carried the town of Kreutznach twice by storm in the course of one day; but he was obliged at length to evacuate that place, while his colleague was repulsed soon after in an attack upon Kayserslautern, in which he lost two thousand men. At length the severity of the season, and an unexpected armistice of three months, put an end to a campaign, the close of which was not only far different from its commencement, but also from what might have been augured from the relative forces of the contending powers.

The troops of the house of Austria, although entirely destitute of the support of the Prussians as formerly, must be

allowed to have conducted themselves not only with exemplary skill and bravery, but with a degree of zeal and even of enthusiasm which they had not hitherto evinced. The field-marshals Clairfayt and Wurmser added greatly to their former reputation; and the generals Boros, Kray, and Haddick, evinced talents that afforded a promise of future celebrity.

On the other hand, the fame of Pichegru and Jourdan, two of the best generals in the French service, experienced a sudden eclipse: while they loudly complained that the victories of the Imperialists had been accomplished by the violation of neutral territory, they at the same time evinced a jealousy and even a hatred of each other, that proved but little serviceable to the interests of their country.

## CHAP. IV.

*Campaign in Italy—The Convention is dissolved and a Directory appointed.*

THE peace with Spain produced a considerable effect on the military operations in Italy. No sooner did the court of Madrid consent to the termination of hostilities, than the victorious troops which had crossed the Pyrenées in search of conquests, were conducted to the Appenines, and Kellermann was soon in possession of all the summits of the Alps from the lake of Geneva to the county of Nice.

THE war, however, for some time was defensive in this quarter; and while the Austrians entrenched themselves at Borghetto and Albenga, the French strengthened their position at Dego, neither of the armies paying the least attention to the neutrality of Genoa, the territories of which were invaded and occupied occasionally by both.*.

* It is not a little remarkable, that in the course of a war ostensibly undertaken on one side in defence of religion and the rights of sovereigns, and on the other in behalf of the liberties of mankind, neither party, when it suited its interests, has paid the least respect to the rights of independent nations. Both France

General De Vins, who had again assumed the command of the Austro-Sardinian army, in the mean time extended his redoubts along Mount Balin, which commands Savona and Vado, with the double view of securing a retreat, in case he should be pressed by superior forces, and keeping up the communication with Alexandria and Savona whence he drew his supplies.

But the army of Italy being at length pressed by famine, in consequence of the capture of all neutral vessels laden with corn in the Mediterranean, a council of war was held at Albenga, in which it was determined to attack the Imperialists throughout the whole extent of their line, with a view of chasing them from the dominions of Genoa, and obtaining a supply of provisions. Accordingly several partial engagements took place, in one of which the Austrians were driven from

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and Austria by turns invaded and kept possession of the Genoese territory; and the conduct of the English ministers and commanders abroad was not always in unison with the professions of the cabinet.

In September, 1793, a French vessel having entered the port of Genoa under the three-coloured flag, Telli, the agent of that nation, suspecting that she came from Toulon with a secret commission, ordered the master on board the Modeste frigate, and put him in irons.

In consequence of this, an English and Spanish squadron, consisting of eight ships of the line and six frigates, entered the port on the fifth of October, and the Scipio of 74 guns, having ranged alongside the French man-of-war then at anchor, after a short engagement took possession of her, and two other cruisers. The Imperieux, another frigate, was also seized in the port of Spezia, under the guns of the fort, and such of her stores as had been landed were secured, the magazines of the republic having been broken open for that purpose.

The Government of Genoa remonstrated against this conduct to the British minister, and pleaded its neutrality; but he is said to have answered, "that neutrality among nations cannot take place, but with respect to such wars as are carried on between *lawful powers*; that to talk of neutrality in the case of a contest between religion and atheism, laws and anarchy, loyalty and perjury, virtue and vice, humanity and murder, is to vilify the name."

The same plenipotentiary is reported to have invited the republic "to declare itself within twenty-four hours for the coalesced courts; to dismiss within six hours the French mini-

Campo di Pietra, by the generals Augereau and Chastel, with the loss of five hundred prisoners. A few days after they were again attacked by general Scherer in the valley of Loano; and after a battle that lasted from six o'clock in the morning until five in the afternoon, the allies were obliged to retreat to Garesio, with the loss of eight thousand men, who were either killed or made prisoners.

The action being renewed next morning at break of day, the enemy fled in confusion towards Savona and Bagniano. In this state of distress, De Vins summoned the senate of Genoa to deliver up the fortress of Savona; and being refused the possession of a place which he was unable to obtain by force, the Austro-Sardinians were obliged to pass the defiles of the Bochetta, and retire towards Acqui: on which the French took possession of Pietra, Loano, Finale, and Vado, as well as of the immense magazines which the Austrians had collected at Savona.

In consequence of this succession of victories, the barriers of the Pyrenées were completely laid open to the invaders; but the excesses which accompanied and followed their triumphs, notwithstanding the repeated proclamations of general Scherer, who endeavoured in vain to render the commanding

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ster and all the French resident in Genoa;" and to have added "that if they did not hasten to yield to this invitation, the Genoese would be considered as enemies, their port would be blockaded, &c. &c."

The government refused to comply, and it appears that the ministry of Great Britain was unwilling to enforce the threats of its agent.

The French commissioners with the army of Italy, in a Declaration, dated Nice, October 13, denounced the conduct of the English in the port of Genoa, "as an outrage against the rights of nations, and the laws of humanity;" and, as if ignorant of the impotence of the republic, they "consider the indecision of the senate in neglecting to inflict a just and signal punishment on the authors of the crime committed in their port, and under their cannon," as an act of hostility.

The Genoese having persisted in their neutrality, the port of Genoa was afterwards invested by lord Hood's fleet; but it was at length notified to the republic, on the 26th of August, 1794, that the blockade was raised.

officers of companies, the colonels of battalions, and generals of brigades and divisions, personally responsible for the malversations of their soldiers, soon reduced the republican army to a state of complete anarchy. In addition to the disorganisation that ensued, other circumstances contributed to restrain the further progress of the French; for the emperor, in consequence of his recent successes on the Rhine, was enabled to detach into Italy a body of twenty-five thousand men, who fortified a position on the back of the Appenines; while the court of Turin, fully aware of its critical situation, sent a reinforcement of six thousand troops to general Colli, who commanded the Sardinian army.

But the rigor of the season prevented the allies from attempting any enterprise of moment; and the intervention of mountains covered with snow, restrained the rage of hostile armies, and procrastinated the fate of Italy.

In the mean time great and important changes had taken place in France. In the course of this summer, the legislature at length adopted measures for its own dissolution, and also for the creation of a new constitution, by which, under the names of the Councils of Five Hundred and Ancients, the once-hated idea of a balance of power was revived and adopted. The last moments of this assembly were accompanied by the most terrible convulsions; and its members were threatened with insurrection, and even death, by the very jacobins by whom they had been once supported, while they were cheerfully succoured by the royalists, whom they had punished and oppressed. Their power however survived the struggle; and as some little compensation to suffering humanity for the manifold injuries of war and faction, they conceived a brilliant plan for the encouragement of arts and sciences, and with their expiring breath bequeathed the National institute as a legacy to their successors.

Thus, after three years' duration, closed the memorable career of the Convention, to paint the character of which is reserved for the pencil of some future Tacitus. Never did any popular body unite within itself so many contrarieties; vice and virtue, heroism and cowardice, patriotism and perfidy, were by turns triumphant. Its deputies, entirely select-

ed from among the philosophers and plebeians, after proclaiming the destruction of a monarchy consecrated by the lapse of ages, and signing the death-warrant of Louis XVI. the successor of more than a hundred kings, basely crouched under the triumviral yoke, and suffered the most virtuous of their colleagues to be exiled, proscribed and massacred, by Couthon, Marat, and Robespierre.

Betrayed by its own generals, overwhelmed by foreign armies, destitute of money, and devoured by a civil war, it proclaimed a commonwealth, dissolved the coalition of kings, crossed the Waal and the Rhine, scaled the Pyrenées and the Appenines, and made prostrate Europe tremble at its energy. Not content with repelling the aggressions of the powers armed against it, their own territories were menaced, invaded, and conquered; and a many-headed dictatorship, consisting of some hundreds of legislators, who trembled by turns at the machinations of their own committees and the insurrections of the fickle Parisians, found means to erect the emblem with which republican Rome enfranchised her bondmen in the heart of Flanders, Spain, and Germany enslaved, and appeared for a while not only to have changed their own destiny but influenced that of mankind.

On the dissolution of the convention, and annihilation of its committees, the executive power was confided to a directory consisting of five members, who were entrusted with the sole management of military affairs, the appointment to a variety of civil offices, and the conduct of all foreign transactions. To support the dignity of their office, they were provided with ample revenues, surrounded by guards, clothed in magnificent apparel, and lodged in the palace of the Luxemburg.

Rewbel, a native of Colmar, formerly an advocate of some note in the sovereign court of Alsace and a deputy to the sstea-general, constituted one of this body; he was indebted for his nomination partly to his republican principles, and partly to the affected moderation of Syeyes. Barras, a man of family, and more celebrated for his personal courage than his morals, was another member. Like his colleague, he had voted for the death of the king; and this circumstance, together

with the services rendered to the convention during the insurrection of the sections of Paris, elevated him to his present rank. Revelliere-Lepaux was the third. He had been by turns a professor of botany and a member of the late legislature; but his original rank in life was far more humble, for he rose from the station of a journeyman-apothecary, to participate in the honours of the Gallic purple. Letourneur and Carnot were both bred to the profession of arms, and served as engineers: the first however had only distinguished himself by regulating the position of a battery, or constructing an entrenched camp; while the second presided over the evolutions of armies, and by the boldness and wisdom of his plans seemed to chain victory to the banners of the republic.

Such were the men destined by fortune to preside over and regulate the fate of France: but, notwithstanding the hopes entertained of their vigor and talents, it soon became evident that they were not destined to be the harbingers of public prosperity; for not only did the value of paper-money experience a sudden and alarming degree of depreciation in the early part of their administration, but the armies, hitherto victorious under the direction of the committees, sustained at first but a doubtful reputation during their controul.

## CHAP. V.

*Renewal of the Civil War—Expedition to Britanny—Execution of the Count de Sombreuil and his brave Companions.*

The peace with the Vendéan chiefs, which had produced so much joy throughout the whole empire, soon proved false, hollow, and delusive, and the horizon of France appeared once more clouded with blood.

The government, under pretence of bad faith, refused to advance the sums stipulated in the late treaty, and even issued orders to arrest several of the principal insurgents. Clermont, who had been permitted to traverse the departments lately in commotion, with a view of putting a stop to hostilities, was seized while employed in distributing forged assignats; Tin-

tinac de la Bossière was taken prisoner, when about to repair to Jersey; Cormartin, accused of spending the money advanced to him in recruiting a new army, was stopped and confined; while Charette, whose conduct had always been suspicious, was surrounded by spies. About the same time a correspondence with the English ministry was intercepted, and both sides now prepared once more for war.

Previously to this, a report was made to the convention relative to the critical situation of La Vendée; and in the course of a few days after, appeared a manifesto on the part of the insurgents, which was published in form at the head-quarters of Charette and Stofflet. *

In the mean time the British government was meditating an attack upon France in the most vulnerable part. Conscious if that country were left to the full enjoyment of her own strength and resources she would prove too powerful for all her enemies, it was determined to attempt a descent on her coasts, and, by landing a body of emigrants, involve her once more in the endless labyrinth of intestine commotions. A number of regiments were accordingly raised and embodied, consisting in part of the unhappy Toulonese who had been forced to abandon their country, and in part of those who had withdrawn from France at different periods. But as the number of volunteers for so desperate an expedition was not sufficient, a fatal measure was recurred to, and a multitude of prisoners were recruited from the gaols †. The count de Sombreuil, a youth of great promise, and who, by an extraordinary instance of courage, had lately obtained a military de-

* It is not a little remarkable, that this manifesto contained a clause hostile to England: "Nous n'avons point contracté, & nous ne contracterons poin', d'alliance avec la nation Anglaise, ni avec aucune des puissances coalisées, à moins que Louis XVIII. ne conclue un traité avec elles; alores ces puissances séraient nos alliées, parce qu'elles séraient les alliées de notre souverain; nous ne laisserons pénétrer dans les pays occupés par nos armées, aucunes troupes des puissances coalisés, & nous combattrerons leurs soldats debarqués sur nos côtes à l'effet de démembrer la France, ou d'exciter du trouble dans les provinces."

† It was asserted in England, that some of the troops exhibited a spirit of mutiny immediately after they had sailed; but

coration from the king of Prussia, was prevailed upon to engage in this expedition, along with the count d'Hervilly, a general anterior to the destruction of the monarchy; the chief command was, however, bestowed upon M. de Puisaye, formerly adjutant-general to Wimpffen, who possessed considerable influence among the Chouans, of whom he had been one of the leaders; but he neither enjoyed the confidence of the troops which served under him, nor displayed any of those military talents that could alone entitle him to direct such an important enterprise.

Every thing being prepared with a liberality bordering on profusion, this little army, consisting principally of the regiments of Hector, Hervilly, Dudrenuc, Royale-Marine, Royale-Louis, Loyal-Emigrant, and Royale-Artillerie, was embarked in transports, under the convoy of a small squadron commanded by sir John Borlase Warren, whose intimate knowledge of the French coast rendered him particularly adapted for such an undertaking. After being sixteen days at sea, the fleet at length arrived at the place of destination, and anchored in the bay of Quiberon. The debarkation of the main body of the troops was effected during the night, under the orders of general d'Hervilly, and the remainder landed on the succeeding days, together with an immense quantity of muskets, uniforms, stores, provisions, and five pieces of cannon. Nor was any thing omitted that might gain the hearts of the royalists; for immense quantities of assignats*, homilies, benedictions, and titles of nobility, were provided with the most profuse liberality upon this occasion.

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according to the French author, their disaffection amounted to a regular conspiracy: "A peine étaient-ils embarqués à Southampton, qu'ils voulurent massacrer leurs officiers, & conduire dans les ports de France les navires qu'ils montaient. Quatorze d'entre eux furent mis à mort, & protestèrent jusqu'à dernière moment, qu'ils mouraient républicains."—*Hist. Philosoph. de la Révol. par Ant. Fantin-Désodoards, t.* VI. *p.* 136.

* It is but candid to remark, that the paper-money alluded to here could not be termed *forged*, as it was entirely different from that issued under the authority of the convention. An engraving of the portrait of Louis XVII. the arms of France, and the flower-de-luces, together with the motto of "Dieu &

The invaders now extended their cantonments, and the republicans being obliged to evacuate Auray and Vannes, they took possession of both these places; but as their position could not be maintained without Fort Penthievre, which had recently received the appellation of Fort Sans-Culottes, it was immediately attacked by means of three frigates on one side, while the emigrants presented themselves on the other with four pieces of artillery, and, after a defence of two days, by a garrison consisting of four hundred men, capitulated to the English.

The royalists soon after made themselves masters of the whole peninsula, and also of the entrenched camp of Carnac: the inhabitants of the neighbouring country indeed appeared unfriendly to their cause, but they were soon joined by a body of Chouans; and M. de Puisaye, who had established his head-quarters at the village of Genese, armed and clothed such of the peasantry as presented themselves.

He had now both time and opportunity, under the title of "lieutenant-general of the king's armies, and commander in chief of the Catholic and Royal army of Britanny," to publish a proclamation, inviting Frenchmen of every description to rally around his standard.

"Ye brave inhabitants of La Vendée, the admiration of Europe and the envy of France," says he, "the moment is arrived to reap the fruits of your heroic toils. The illustrious shades of Bonchamp, L'Escure, La Roche Jacqueline, and so many other heroes who were your guides and friends, are hovering around you! The associates and the inheritors of their glory, Charette, Stofflet, Sapinau, and all your intrepid leaders, will accomplish this great work, which they have begun and conducted with so much constancy and courage. We bring you ammunition, arms, and the assistance which a protecting power, that does not confine itself to a bare admiration of your fortitude, condescends to grant you.

Ye loyal inhabitants of Britanny, who have honoured me

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le Roi," and the words "Armee Royale & Catholique de Bretagne," executed like the devices in blue ink, clearly indicate that this was intended for the payment of the troops.

with your confidence, you now see that it has not been violated. The British government, roused by your perseverance and misfortunes, has granted your request. An army, entirely composed of French troops, comes to second your efforts, and I bring you all the succours you have demanded. His Britannic majesty, forced to repel the aggressions of your tyrants, and to assert the respect due to his crown, has nevertheless, graciously received your fellow-citizens, and the persecuted ministers of your religion, whom he now restores to your wishes. This is the only answer worthy of his majesty to the ambitious and destructive plans which your foes have imputed to his generous intentions. French officers and soldiers, who, like yourselves, for these four years past have fought for their king, now hasten to rejoin you, and your princes intend to place themselves at the head of your invincible columns."

No sooner did the intelligence of these events reach Paris, than the national convention selected two deputies, Blad and Tallien, on whose energy they could rely, and sent them to Britanny. While these raised the neighbouring departments, Hoche assembled troops and organised an army. Having left Cherin, whom he had placed at the head of his staff at Rennes, on purpose to forward supplies of ammunition, provisions, and artillery, he himself proceeded to Auray, to observe the motions of the enemy. Being as yet unable to oppose so formidable a force, he allowed the emigrants to remain in quiet possession of the fort of Quiberon, as well as of the peninsula; and although it was mortifying for a commander in chief to remain a patient spectator of their progress, he contented himself, with a gaiety peculiar to his countrymen, to sport with his own situation, and to boast that he intended to shut up the enemy, like so many rats in a trap*.

No sooner had a body of troops been collected, than the general forced them to withdraw to the camp of Kousten, under protection of the fort of Penthievre, while he himself remain-

* "Se réservant de les y renfermer," disoit-il, "comme un rat dans une souricière."

ed at the village of Sainte-Barbe, and entrusted general Lemoine with the erection of the batteries destined to hem in and enclose the invading army.

The chiefs of the royalists, alarmed at these preparations, immediately perceived the necessity of raising the blockade, on purpose to keep up a communication with the disaffected in the interior parts of the country, and accordingly determined to assault the republican lines by break of day. But intelligence of this important operation was communicated on the preceding evening, by no less than four different deserters, and preparations were made to defeat the project. Accordingly, on the approach of their columns, general Humbert fell back, conformably to orders, and the assailants were not only exposed to a severe fire of grape-shot from two masked batteries in front, but also to a charge of infantry and cavalry on both their flanks. So unexpected a reception entirely disconcerted the emigrants, three hundred of whom, with the count de Thalmont and a number of nobles, were left dead on the field of battle. General d'Hervilly, who commanded on this occasion, was desperately wounded, and three pieces of cannon fell to the lot of the victors, who were alone prevented by five English gun-boats from entering Fort Penthievre along with the fugitives.

Hoche had by this time collected a formidable force, consisting of the national guards of Brest, and all the adjoining towns on the coast, in addition to a powerful reinforcement of regular troops. He therefore determined to leave the lines hitherto occupied by his forces, and attack the invaders, whom he had penned up within the peninsula. But as it was first necessary to render himself master of Fort Penthievre, he resolved to attack that place ; and although all the engineers in his army were of opinion that it could be reduced by regular approaches alone, he declared his intention to carry it by assault. He was undoubtedly influenced on this occasion by the number and the zeal of the deserters from the royal standard, who not only made him acquainted, from time to time, with all the movements in the enemy's camp, but even undertook to conduct the troops and obtain the surrender of the fort.

Accordingly three thousand of the republicans, led by the generals Humbert and Valle, left the camp of St. Barbe about eleven o'clock at night, and notwithstanding their march was retarded by a storm, this circumstance serving to conceal their operations from the enemy. The forces being divided into three columns, two of them moved along the shore, and were obliged at times to wade breast-high ; they were also perceived by the English gun-boats, which immediately commenced a heavy fire of grape, and would have actually returned, had not some person, about two o'clock in the morning, exclaimed that the three-coloured ensign was flying upon the ramparts. This proved to be actually the case ; for while one of the detachments had proceeded to assault the fort in front, the adjutant-general Menage, at the head of about three hundred chosen soldiers and deserters, braving the waves of the ocean, and the fire of the fort and the shipping, scaled the rocks on the west side, and, being favoured by part of the garrison, obtained possession of one of the advanced works.

On receiving intelligence of this event, the remainder of the republican army was instantly put in motion, and the commander in chief, assisted by the two representatives Tallien and Blad, penetrated into the peninsula, in three columns, one of which marched straight forward, while the other two followed the direction of the coast, with an intention to cut off the enemy's retreat. It was now five o'clock in the morning, and although the French had been in possession of Penthievre upwards of two hours, yet this event seems still to have been unknown to the ill-fated emigrants in the camp of Kousten ; but a number of the Chouans, perceiving the danger with which they were menaced, found means to escape in boats to the continent.

Notwithstanding they were surprised, and left destitute of a leader by the flight of M. De Puisaye, who, on the first alarm, sought and obtained shelter on board a man-of-war, the royalists rallied under the gallant Sombreuil, who, unmindful of his own preservation, was only anxious to hold out until the women and children, who were precipitating themselves into the sea, had obtained an asylum on board the English fleet.

At length the entrenched camp was forced, and while nearly one half of the invaders joined the army of Hoche, and protested their inviolable attachment to the cause of the republic, the remainder retired to a rock, where they had posted a piece of cannon, and defended themselves with the greatest intrepidity. But it being found impossible to resist the numbers and the artillery of the assailants, the vanquished demanded leave to capitulate, and a parley accordingly took place; however as some of the chiefs took advantage of this opportunity to escape on board the boats sent to their succour, the fire of the republicans recommenced, and being now reduced to the deplorable alternative of perishing by the swords of the victors, or the waves of the sea, these wretched and unhappy men were forced to surrender at discretion. In Fort Penthievre and the peninsula were found seventy thousand muskets, one hundred and fifty thousand pair of shoes, and all the artillery landed from the fleet; the beach of Quiberon was covered with wines, liquors, provisions, and stores of all sorts; and a regiment of infantry, taking advantage of the general consternation, is reported to have obtained possession of a number of vessels laden with flour, rice, and provisions.

Thus ended this unfortunate expedition to the coast of France, the fate of which for some time cast a gloom over the public mind. No less than six or seven hundred of the emigrants perished at the foot of a rock*, where they had taken shelter; about two thousand were saved by the boats of the fleet; of those who surrendered, such as were not noble, after some time obtained their liberty, and all the women and children of the Chouans were immediately set free. The bishop of Dol and fourteen of his clergy, who had devoted themselves to inevitable destruction, received death with the most exemplary resignation; M. de Broglie and several men of birth, to the amount of near three hundred †, also suffered upon this occasion: but the fate of count Charles de

* Called *le rocher de Portignes.*

† They were tried by a military tribunal, consisting of a lieutenant-colonel, a captain, serjeant, corporal, and private.

Sombreuil, who had embarked in the expedition from sentiments of honour, and conducted himself in a gallant and disinterested manner to the very last scene of the bloody tragedy, attracted the attention and the commiseration of all Europe.

Notwithstanding the catastrophe attendant on this ill-fated invasion, the British squadron remained some time on the coast, and occupied the attention of the republican troops. Several partial descents were also attempted, from time to time, and it was at length resolved to seize on Noirmoutier, formerly the haunt of Charette and his followers. But as this island proved to be too well guarded, the Isle of Dieu, although much smaller in extent, was taken possession of, and converted into a place of arms, whence the Chouans could occasionally be succoured; while the British cruisers, by hovering in the neighbourhood, kept the adjacent coast in continual alarm, and intercepted all communication by sea.

But this petty and predatory warfare was accompanied by no great national advantages, for it was now too late to expect the throne of the Bourbons to be restored by the zeal and bravery of the Vendéan chiefs. The enthusiasm of the insurgents was cooled by reiterated defeats, and the auspicious moment had been suffered to elapse in empty promises and fruitless preparations, when a D'Elbée, a Stofflet, a Bonchamp, and a Charette, united for the first time under a prince of the blood, and supported by a body of British soldiery, led by a gallant and popular nobleman*, might have imitated the followers of Henry IV. and encircled the head of the count de Provence with the crown of his illustrious progenitor.

But if the English cabinet did not deem it prudent to risk either the reputation or the troops of the nation, by a formidable descent on the coast of France, in support of the pretensions of the exiled princes, it will be seen that no time was lost in fitting out a naval armament against the foreign possessions of Holland, and that the war with this power, instead of adding to the embarrassments of the empire, only tended to enlarge its commerce, and increase its riches.

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* The earl of Moira.

## CHAP. VI.

*War with Holland—Conquest of the Dutch Settlements.*

THE conquest of Holland by the French, and the treaty of alliance* which speedily followed this event, produced an entire change in the connection between that country and England. The cabinet of the latter therefore deemed itself justified in recurring to decisive measures: his majesty was accordingly pleased to issue a proclamation, ordering all Dutch vessels in the ports of Great Britain to be stopped, and five men-of-war, nine Indiamen, and about sixty sail of smaller vessels, were immediately detained. Soon after this, all the property whatsoever of that nation was ordered to be seized; and at length the king in council published a third declaration, in which, after stating "that divers injurious proceedings had lately taken place in the United Provinces, in derogation to the honour of his crown, and the just rights of his subjects," an order for general reprisals was granted "against the ships, goods, and subjects," of that country.

IT was not until the spring of the succeeding year † that a manifesto appeared in the name of "the national assembly representing the Batavian nation." In this singular production it is stated, that the people of Holland, so often "oppressed and pillaged under the mask of friendship, will no longer suffer themselves to be dragged in the dust, and will cease to be the sport of the infamous and ambitious ministers of England, who by the dazzle of piratical treasures blind their own nation, which fancies itself to be free, and at the same time exempt from the terrible calamities they have brought upon Europe and the whole of the human race." After asserting "that the proceedings in the Netherlands" alluded to in the above declaration as "contrary to the honour of his majesty's crown, were the acts of his majesty's own troops," it is added, that the orders given to the Dutch ships of war to "repel violence by violence," originated in the rights of an independent republic.

* May 18, 1795. † May 2, 1796.

It was assuredly the policy of the English ministry during the whole war to render every event subservient to the interests of a commercial nation; and the Dutch settlements in Asia, America, and Africa, undoubtedly presented the hopes of a rich harvest of spoil, which would fascinate the people, while it invigorated the resources and extended the trade of Great Britain. Some fortunate circumstances also tended greatly to facilitate these views; and it appears from the evidence of undisputed authority that an unfortunate prince was prevailed upon to transmit letters to the Dutch settlements abroad, commanding the governors to put their respective colonies under the protection of Great Britain *.

It accordingly happened, that during the course of this year all the factories of Holland in Asia were either obtained by stratagem, or seized after a short resistance, by a power, the arms and influence of which received a fresh accession in that distant quarter of the globe.

Upon receiving the necessary instructions from England, the government of Madras immediately determined to fit out a small armament, with a view of obtaining possession of the important island of Ceylon. This expedition which was entrusted to rear admiral Rainier and colonel Stuart, sailed towards the middle of the summer, and consisted of the Suffolk, which was the flag-ship, the Centurion, the Diomede, which joined off Negapatam, and several transports. But the chief hope of success depended upon a secret negociation entered into with a Swiss officer, who commanded there: for the Dutch, in the true spirit of all nations strictly commercial, had entrusted the defence of their settlements to foreign mercenaries, and abhorring the profession of arms, dedicated

* In the manifesto published by the Dutch it is asserted, "that letters were sent signed by the prince of Orange, and dated at Kew, the 7th of February, 1795, to several of the colonies of the republic, in the East Indies, and also to the Cape of Good Hope, ordering, on his individual authority, the respective governors to put the colonies of the state under the protection of the British arms; that is to say," it is added, "in the artful and customary language of the British ministry, to surrender them to England."

their lives to trade alone. The name and authority of the prince of Orange were also made use of upon this occasion with considerable effect, but the promised liquidation of certain real or supposed debts contributed still more to the advancement of this intrigue, which was intrusted to the deputy adjutant-general of the army.

On the day after the little squadron had anchored in Back Bay, major Agnew, who had been dispatched in the Heroine to Columbo with letters from Lord Hobart, returned with an order from M. van Angelbeck, the governor-general of Ceylon, to the commandant, to surrender Fort Oostenburgh to the English. The latter having refused obedience to this mandate, under pretence of informality, it was determined to attempt the reduction of that part of the island by force. Notwithstanding the loss of the Diomede, which struck upon an undescribed rock between Pigeon Island and the outer point of the bay, the first detachment consisting of five hundred and twenty European and one hundred and ten native soldiers, and two field-pieces, landed without opposition at the White Rocks, and were immediately followed by the remainder of the troops. About ten days more were consumed in the debarcation of stores and provisions; after which the English commenced their approaches, opened batteries against the fort of Trincomalé, and compleated a practicable breach in the course of a week after they had broken ground, during all which operations little or no molestation was experienced on the part of the enemy. Rear-admiral Rainier and colonel Stuart now summoned the garrison to surrender; and major Fornbauer soon after consented to a capitulation, by which the troops, amounting to more than six hundred, surrendered themselves prisoners of war; and as some apprehensions were perhaps entertained of the displeasure of the Dutch government, it was expressly stipulated, "that none of the officers should be sent to Europe against their own consent."

On this the commandant of Oostenburgh immediately entered into a negociation for the surrender of that place also, which was accordingly delivered up on terms similar to those granted at Trincomalé, and the British colours were hoisted on the ramparts. The fort of Batticaloe was secured a short

time afterwards, as well as the settlement of Jaffnapatam, and the fort and military post of Molletivoe.

These important acquisitions were soon followed by the capture of the island of Manar, which was seized by captain Barbutt, with the flank companies of the 72d regiment and two parties of sepoys. A small armament from Madras, consisting of the Resistance, captain Newcome, some transports, and the Suffolk's tender, with four European and a few native troops, commanded by major Browne, obtained possession of Malacca; by the acquisition of which, additional security was afforded to the British commerce in the straits of that name, as well as in the Chinese seas. Cochin also surrendered to the English arms, with Chinsurah and its dependencies, the fort of Porca, and Quilon; and, in fine, all the settlements on the continent of India appertaining to the Dutch, for the security of whose commerce and territories Great Britain had originally commenced the war.

Nearly about the same time the flourishing colony of the Cape of Good Hope was transferred to the English.

The invasion of that settlement was undertaken partly with a view of preventing the French from obtaining possession of it, and partly with an intention of securing an intermediate station between Europe and the rich and numerous possessions of Great Britain in the east. The conduct of this expedition was entrusted to vice-admiral sir George Keith Elphinstone and general sir Alured Clarke: but a considerable time elapsed before the armament could be compleated, and it sailed even then subject to a variety of disadvantages.

At length part of the squadron reached the place of its destination, and a negociation was immediately entered into with the governor of Simon's-town; but as he could not be prevailed upon either to acknowledge the authority of the prince of Orange or surrender his charge, a landing was effected, and possession obtained of that place, which had been previously evacuated with an intention of being burnt.

Notwithstanding the disparity of forces*, and although the commander in chief, with the remainder of the troops,

* The British troops consisted of the 78th regiment, the ma-

had not yet arrived, and they were entirely destitute of artillery, it was determined by major-general Craig to march against the enemy, who occupied Mysenberg, a formidable station, provided with cannon, and rendered difficult of approach both by land and sea on account of a steep mountain on the right and the shallow water and high surf on the left. In the mean time, the admiral secretly prepared a gun-boat and armed the launches of the fleet with heavy carronades; he also landed two battalions of seamen, about one thousand in number, under the command of captains Hardy of the Echo, and Spranger of the Rattlesnake, while his cruisers were frequently dispatched around the bay to prevent any suspicion of an attack.

A FAVOURABLE opportunity having occurred soon after, the preconcerted signal was hoisted from the flag-ship, on which general Craig put the troops in motion, while commodore Blankett in the America, with the Stately, Echo, and Rattlesnake, got under weigh, so as to precede and protect the march of the advancing columns. Two small batteries were immediately abandoned on their approach, and the respective vessels having taken the stations assigned to them, a fire commenced upon the Dutch camp, which was evacuated with precipitation in the course of a few minutes.

ON this, the major-general proceeded over heavy sand and took possession of it, after a most fatiguing march; he also found means to drive the Dutch from an advantageous ridge of rocky heights, and to resist an attack made upon his position next morning by the whole force of the enemy, supported by eight field-pieces. A night attempt upon one of the principal out-posts, defended by the Burgher militia, however failed, partly on account of the intricacy of the roads, and partly from the timidity and ignorance of the guides.

THE British commanders were now reduced to a very awkward dilemma, for neither the numbers nor energy of their adversaries seemed to be diminished; and while no fair

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rines of the squadron, and two battalions of seamen, in all about one thousand six hundred men; the enemy, composed chiefly of the Burgher militia and Hottentots, were not only more numerous, but amply provided with heavy cannon and field-pieces.

opportunity presented itself to advance on the one hand by the army, the navy on the other was unable, on account of the unfavourableness of the season, to occupy Table Bay, and thus procure a shorter and readier communication with the troops. At length it was agreed to wait six days longer for general Clarke with the forces under his command, and if at the expiration of that period no succour arrived, major-general Craig was to march forward under every disadvantage, to try the fortune of an attack before the total failure of their provisions rendered a retreat unavoidable.

They were, however, anticipated in their intentions by the enemy, who on their part meditated a general assault on the British camp, which in all probability would have decided the fate of this important colony. They accordingly advanced during the night with their whole strength, supported by a train of eighteen field-pieces; and considerable bodies of troops had already made their appearance, when at this critical and important moment the signal for a fleet, soon after succeeded by the appearance of fourteen large vessels, induced them to relinquish their enterprise, and return to their former post.

This event was decisive of the conquest of the Cape; for general Clarke having immediately landed with a body of troops, proceeded to the camp, and soon after advanced against the post of Wynberg, where the Dutch seemed prepared for resistance with nine pieces of cannon. On this the army, which had marched in columns, was formed into two lines, and a detachment dispatched against each of the flanks of the enemy, while the main body and artillery advanced against the centre. Commodore Blankett having appeared at the same time with three ships in Table Bay on purpose to effect a diversion on that side, the Dutch immediately retired; and early next morning an officer arrived with a flag and letter from governor Sluysken, in consequence of which a cessation of arms ensued, and the castle and Cape of Good Hope were surrendered to the British arms.

But although the English were thus uniformly successful in their attempts upon the Dutch colonies in Asia and Africa, it will be seen that their own settlements in the West Indies were not wholly exempt from calamities.

## CHAP. VII.

*Campaign in the West-Indies.*

WHILE the English ministers were fitting out a powerful armament for the West-Indies, Victor Hughes not only retained possession of Guadaloupe, but extended his arms and his influence to the neighbouring isles. Declining no arts however inhuman, and no measures however dangerous, he violated the sanctuary of the dead* without compunction, and exposed the living to all the penalties of rebellion without remorse. In one of his numerous proclamations he boasted that eight hundred republicans and two French frigates had conquered the island where he then resided; and after ridiculing the idea of declaring Guadaloupe to be in a state of blockade, he affirmed that his cruisers "had taken, sunk, and burnt, eighty-eight of the enemy's vessels," while they, according to his account, had "turned pirates, and ransacked neutral vessels."

NOR was the government unmindful of the services of this singular man; for early in the present year a small armament† arrived safe in the West-Indies with the loss of one single vessel only. On this the commissioner, who had dispersed proclamations and emissaries every where, determined to extend the theatre of war, and retaliate on the English by attacking them in their own settlements. He began with the island of Grenada, which had formerly appertained to France; and having conveyed a considerable quantity of arms and ammu-

* In the latter end of 1794 this commissioner published a proclamation, in which, after stating "that the rights of humanity, of war, and of nations," had been violated by the British commanders, he added, "that the body of Thomas Dundas, major-general and governor, interred in Guadaloupe, 3d June (slave style), should be taken up and given a prey to the birds of the air," &c.

† 1. L'Eseuelle, a 74 cut down, carrying 46 guns and 500 men.
2. L'Astrée, of 30 guns.
3. La Leveret, 20 guns.

nition thither, with a small body of troops, an insurrection took place under Fedon, in consequence of which, the lieutenant-governor and several of the principal inhabitants were taken prisoners.

As materials for combustion are ever ready in colonies where a few whites hold a multitude of negroes in slavery, St. Vincent also was subjected to all the calamities of civil war, which were aggravated greatly by the fury of the Charibbs. The French inhabitants of Dominica were likewise instigated to revolt, and a small detachment sent to their assistance; but they did not hold out so long as in the other islands, for the invaders were resisted by the militia, and obliged to submit as prisoners of war, while those who had joined them were punished with all the rigour of the laws.

Victor Hughes, however, found means to resume possession of St. Lucia, having landed a body of troops there under Massades and Lombard, and incited the negroes to revolt by the allurements of liberty, so congenial to the heart of man. Brigadier-general Stuart, after obtaining possession of Vieux Fort, proceeded to attack the enemy at Souffriere; but he was anticipated in his intentions, and although he found means to dissipate an ambuscade, yet his troops were compelled, at the close of an engagement of seven hours, to retire. The capture of Pigeon Island, and the loss of the Vigie soon after, rendered St. Lucia no longer tenable; it was accordingly determined to evacuate it, which was happily effected without any loss, by captain Barrett of the Experiment.

Nearly about the same time, the Maroons, instigated by real or supposed injuries, took up arms in Jamaica; in consequence of which a contest commenced, and was carried on with a spirit of relentless hostility never before practised by Englishmen. On all former occasions, when the insurgent

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4. La Prompte, 20 guns.

5. Le Ducas, 20 guns: and ten armed transports.

This little squadron sailed from Brest November 17, with troops and warlike stores on board, and being chased by captain G. Wilson of the Bellona, and captain Carpenter in the Alarm, the Ducas, laden with field-pieces, mortars, shells, shot, and entrenching tools, was captured.

slaves, or such of their descendants as had been admitted to the protection of the British government, made war upon the colonists, no unmanly or perfidious stratagems were recurred to, but they were constantly overcome by the superior bravery, discipline, and resources, of the Europeans and Creoles. Yet upon the present, not only Spanish arts, but Spanish arms were employed for their extirpation; the ferocity of the canine race, for the first time in our history, was invoked in aid of the soldiery; while the women, children, and old men, were exposed to the rage of blood-hounds, and the public faith itself is said to have been violated in respect to the articles of a treaty entered into with these deluded people. But their sufferings did not end here; for such as the sword had spared were transported from the tropical region of the Atlantic isles, and exposed to all the rigours of polar cold in Upper Canada, until they were at length transferred by the interposition of some humane individuals to a more congenial climate on the coast of Africa.

From scenes such as these the indignant Briton will readily avert his eyes, to contemplate the more honourable triumphs of that navy destined to add to the glory and protection of his native country.

## CHAP. VIII.

*Naval Campaign of* 1795—*Action in the Mediterranean under Admiral Hotham—Able and gallant Conduct of Vice-Admiral Cornwallis in the Channel—Successful Cruise by Lord Bridport—Encounters between single Ships.*

Notwithstanding the naval power of France had been greatly reduced, and the spirit of her seamen almost entirely annihilated by the memorable engagement off Ushant in the course of the former campaign, she yet found means early in the spring to fit out a squadron in the Mediterranean. Toulon, although hitherto supposed to have been rendered incapable of furnishing a supply of stores for that purpose, was the port whence this armament, consisting of fifteen sail of

the line, four frigates, and two corvettes, issued forth with a view of making a descent upon Corsica, and restoring that island to the dominion of its former masters.

Vice-admiral Hotham having received intimation from Genoa that this fleet had been seen off the isle of Marguerite, immediately left Leghorn road in pursuit of it, with fourteen sail of the line, four frigates, and four armed vessels. Anticipating the enemy's destination, he shaped his course accordingly, and sent orders for the Berwick, then at St. Fiorenzo, to join him off Cape Corse; but he received the unwelcome news that this ship, after an action in which captain Littlejohn the commander was killed, had been captured two days before by the enemy's fleet.

Although the respective squadrons were seen daily by the advanced frigates of both, yet they did not descry each other until after the lapse of three days, when the French were discovered to windward. As they evinced no inclination to bear down, the signal was made by the admiral for a general chace; in the course of which, the weather being squally and blowing very fresh, one of the enemy's line-of-battle ships was perceived to have lost her top-masts. On this the Inconstant, which acted as repeating-frigate to the commander in chief, attacked, raked, and harassed this vessel until the arrival of the Agamemnon of 64 guns, commanded by captain (now lord) Nelson, who rendered her a complete wreck; but he was twice recalled by signal from the Britannia, as several of the enemy's ships were advancing to her succour, by one of which she was soon after taken in tow.

Finding that the British squadron did not gain upon that of the French, the ships of the latter being fresh from port, the vice-admiral gave orders to form on the larboard line of bearing; and perceiving the disabled ship with her consort separated from and to leeward of the main body, it was determined to reduce the enemy to the alternative of either abandoning two of their line of battle or coming to action.

The Captain and Bedford, of 74 guns each, were accordingly dispatched to secure these vessels: on this the French squadron bore down to their assistance, and a partial action ensued, in the course of which the British van ships, particularly the Illustrious and Courageux, not only lost their main

and mizen masts, but suffered considerably, the former having twenty seamen and marines killed, and seventy wounded. But although nothing further was effected, the Ca Ira of 80, and the Censeur of 74, which had been separated from the fleet, were captured after an obstinate and very bloody engagement; for one of these ships having one thousand three hundred, and the other one thousand on board, their decks were strewed with carnage, and they lost between three and four hundred men; the whole loss on the part of the English amounted to only seventy-five killed, and two hundred and eighty wounded*.

* Order of battle on the 14th of March, 1795.

| Frigates | No. of Ships. | Commanders. | Guns. | Men. | Division. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Romulus, repeat. frigate. Fox cutter. | Van Squadron. | | | | |
| | 1 Captain, | Capt. Reeve, | 74 | 590 | Starboard, or weather division. |
| | 2 Bedford, | Capt. Gould, | 74 | 590 | |
| | 3 Tancredi, | Capt. Le Chevalier Caraccioli, | 74 | 600 | |
| | 4 Princess Royal, | Capt. Purvis, | 90 | 760 | V. A. Goodall. |
| Inconstant, Meleager, to repeat signals. | Centre Squadron. | | | | |
| | 5 Agamemnon, | Capt. Nelson, | 64 | 491 | |
| | 6 Illustrious, | Capt. Frederick, | 74 | 590 | |
| | 7 Courageux, | Capt. Montgomery, | 74 | 640 | V. A. Hotham. |
| | 8 Britannia, | Capt. Holloway, | 100 | 859 | R. A. Linzee. |
| | 9 Egmont, | Capt. Sutton, | 74 | 590 | |
| Lowestoffe, repeating frigate. Tarleton, Poulette, and Minerva. | Rear Squadron. | | | | |
| | 10 Windsor Castle, | Capt. Gore, | 90 | 755 | Larboard, or Lee Division. |
| | 11 Diadem, | Capt. Tyler, | 64 | 491 | |
| | 12 St. George, | Capt. Foley, | 90 | 760 | |
| | 13 Terrible, | Capt. Campbell, | 74 | 590 | V. A. Sir H. Parker. |
| | 14 Fortitude, | Capt. Young, | 74 | 590 | |

NOTWITHSTANDING this success, a flying squadron, consisting of the Agamemnon, Meleager, Ariadne, Moselle, and Mutine cutter, under the command of captain Nelson, was chased soon after into St. Fiorenzo bay by twenty-three sail of the enemy, seventeen of which proved to be of the line. On this admiral Hotham immediately put to sea, and the enemy was at length descried to leeward. But as six of the English squadron were unluckily forced to bend main-top-sails in the room of those that were split in the course of the night, some time was lost, and the attempt to cut the French off from the land, whence they were only five leagues distant, proved abortive: about eight o'clock the signal was hoisted for a general chace, and a few of the van ships got up with their rear about noon, in consequence of which a partial action took place, and the Alcide, of 74 guns, struck, but about

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Names of the ships which composed the French fleet on the 14th day of March, 1796.

| *Names.* | *Guns.* | *Complement of Men.* | *On board at the time of action.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Le Sans-Culottes, | 120 | 1200 | 2000 |
| La Victoire (late Languedoc,) | 80 | 950 | 1300 |
| Le Tonant, | 80 | 950 | 1300 |
| Le Guerrier, | 74 | 730 | 1000 |
| Le Conquerant, | 74 | 730 | 1000 |
| Le Mercure, | 74 | 730 | 1000 |
| Le Barras, | 74 | 730 | 1000 |
| Le Généreux | 74 | 730 | 1000 |
| Le Heureux, | 74 | 730 | 1000 |
| Le Duquesne | 74 | 730 | 1000 |
| Le Timoleon (late Commerce de Bordeaux,) | 74 | 730 | 1000 |
| Le Ca Ira (taken) | 80 | 950 | 1300 |
| Le Censeur (taken) | 74 | 930 | 1000 |
| L'Alcide, | 74 | 930 | 1000 |
| Le Souverain, | 74 | 930 | 1000 |
| La Vestale, | 32 | 250 | 250 |
| La Minerve, | 40 | 300 | 300 |
| La Thamise, | 40 | 300 | 300 |
| L'Alceste, | 32 | 250 | 250 |
| Scout, | 18 | 120 | 120 |
| La Hazard, | 20 | 120 | 120 |

half an hour after she caught fire and was consumed. The rest of the fleet being favoured by a shift of wind, took shelter in Frejus Bay, and eluded all further pursuit.

A DETACHMENT from the Mediterranean fleet*, under the command of captain Nelson, a few days after proceeded to the bays of Alassio and Languelia, in the neighbourhood of Vado; whence he cut out nine ships belonging to the French, and he would have landed in the former and destroyed a convoy of provisions and ammunition, but that he found it impracticable, the enemy having two thousand horse and foot in the adjoining town. On the other hand, the Censeur and part of the Mediterranean convoy were taken nearly about the same time by a squadron under Richery, consisting of six sail of the line and three frigates; and that admiral being afraid either to keep the sea or return to a French port, immediately took shelter in Cadiz, which was afterwards blockaded by the English.

A SMALL detachment from the Channel fleet evinced in the course of this summer a manifest superiority over the French, both in skill and resolution. Vice-admiral Cornwallis, whose flag was flying on board a first rate, with four 74-gun ships and two frigates†, fell in with a fleet of thirteen line-of-battle ships, fourteen frigates, two brigs, and a cutter, near the Penmarks. In consequence of a change of wind the enemy obtained the weather-gage, and while one of their large ships began to fire upon the mars, a frigate, which had kept to leeward, ran up upon her larboard quarter, and frequently yawed and fired with an unusual portion of gallantry, while the other ships kept up a distant connonade. Towards evening an attempt was made to cut off this vessel, which was at some distance from the squadron; on which the English admiral bore up for her support, and all the ships under his command evinced such a determined spirit, that the superior fleet drew off, and before sunset tacked and stood away.

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*This consisted of the Inconstant, Meleager, Southampton, Tartar, Ariadne, and Speedy.

†The squadron consisted of the Royal Sovereign, a first-rate, the Mars, Triumph, Brunswick, and Bellerophon, of 74 guns each, and Phaeton and Pallas frigates.

A PORTION of the same fleet, consisting of twelve sail of the line and eleven frigates, was soon after perceived off Port L'Orient by admiral lord Bridport, whose flag was flying in the Royal George, with a strong squadron, consisting of two ships of a hundred, three of ninety-eight, one of eighty, and four of seventy-four guns, under his command. Perceiving that the French declined a contest, four of the fastest sailing men-of-war* were the first detached, and the whole followed soon after, in quest of the enemy, the pursuit continuing during the whole night. Early next morning the headmost ships † came up with the enemy, and after an action of three hours, the Alexander, Formidable, and Tigre, struck, and had not the remainder been protected by the land, more would perhaps have been captured; however, when it is recollected that the action was fought in the face of batteries and before a strong naval port, it must be allowed to have evinced considerable gallantry on the part of the British squadron.

IN the course of this summer the coasting trade of France was greatly distressed, and many of her armed ships captured, by the zeal and attention of the English cruisers. Several commanders well acquainted with all the rocks, shoals, and harbours, distinguished themselves upon this occasion; particularly sir W. S. Smith, who in the Diamond chased some of their corvettes on shore, and engaged with their land batteries, while sir John Borlase Warren, sir Richard Strachan, and sir Edward Pellew, lost no opportunity of exhibiting the most determined spirit of enterprise.

OF all the actions between single ships during the present campaign, and perhaps also during the whole of the war, no one deserves more particular notice than that which occurred

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* The Sanspareil of 80
The Orion of 74
The Russel of 74
And The Colossus of 74

† The Irresistible of . 74 Captain Grindall.
The Orion of . 74 Sir James Saumarez.
The Queen Charlotte of 100 Sir A. S. Douglas.
The Russel of . 74 Captain T. Larcom.
The Colossus of . . . 74 Captain J. Monkton.
And The Sanspareil of . 80 Capt. lord Hugh Seymour.

between the Blanche, mounting thirty-two, and La Pique, of thirty-eight guns and three hundred and sixty men, in the West-Indies. Capt. Faulkner, who commanded the former, during a cruise off the island of Guadaloupe, perceived a frigate at anchor near Pointe-à-Petre, under protection of the batteries. Next day, finding that this vessel had come out, and was two leagues a-stern, he made sail for, and about noon passed under her lee on the starboard tack, exchanging broadsides at the same time; having put about and come up with her again, the enemy wore within musket-shot, with intention to rake, on which the English tacked also, engaged nearly a-board, and soon after, putting the helm a-starboard, ran across and lashed the bowsprit to their own capstern. While in this critical situation, the French frigate's main and mizen masts having fallen, they payed off before the wind, towed the enemy along with them, and finding that their own stern-ports were not sufficiently large, the upper transom beam was blown away so as to admit the guns to run out and fire into the adversary's bows, while the marines kept up such a well directed fire that no man could appear upon her forecastle.

At length, after an engagement of five hours, during which La Pique had seventy-six men killed and one hundred and ten wounded, she surrendered to the Blanche; but her gallant commander, who had before distinguished himself in the sight of the English fleet and army at the assault of Fort Royal, was no longer alive to receive the sword of his vanquished rival, having fallen by a shot which proved mortal, in the midst of the action*. The superior skill and seamanship of the victors will appear more conspicuous when it is stated, that during the whole of this memorable fight, eight of them only were killed, and twenty-one wounded.

A gallant action fought in the Mediterranean between two English and two French frigates ought not to be omitted here. Captain Towry of the Dido, and captain Middleton of the Lowe-stoffe, having fallen in with these off the Hiere,

* A monument has since been erected at the public expence to commemorate the exploits of this brave and able commander.

the former bore down upon La Minerve carrying forty-two guns, and commenced a close fight, in the course of which both vessels suffered considerably, while the latter prevented the Artemise of thirty-six guns from assisting her consort, and after forcing her to retreat, returned and helped to secure the crippled ship, which had lost her bowsprit, fore-mast, and main-top-mast.

In fine, the naval campaign of this year was peculiarly auspicious to England, for she lost only four ships: the Berwick of seventy-four guns, in the Mediterranean, and Le Censeur of seventy-four also, retaken by the enemy off Cape St. Vincent; the Daphne, which was forced to yield to two men-of-war; and the Nemesis of twenty-eight guns, taken by two frigates in the port of Smyrna, in express violation of the law of nations, by way of retaliation for a similar outrage committed at Genoa. On the other hand, the French had about fifty armed vessels of various descriptions sunk, destroyed, and captured. Of these one was a ship of ninety-eight guns, two of eighty, four of seventy-four, two of forty-four, one of forty-two, two of forty, one of thirty-eight, and one of thirty.

In addition to the five Dutch men-of-war detained in England, one of sixty-four was seized at Cork, and six smaller ships were captured elsewhere.

## CHAP. IX.

### *Campaign of* 1796 *in Italy.*

THE contest between France and combined Europe had hitherto been chiefly confined either to the dominions of the former, or the territories in her immediate vicinity. But hostilities were now fated to take a more extensive range, and the unoffending inhabitants of the Alps and the Tyrolese mountains, as well as those on the banks of the Danube and the Po, were doomed to experience all the horrors of a conflict, arising out of a revolution that had taken place in the capital of France.

The Italian war, hitherto considered as a secondary object, now began to assume an interesting appearance, and in consequence of the immense preparations on all sides, it was already augured that the approaching campaign would prove memorable, if not decisive. The command of the troops of the king of Sardinia was still entrusted to general Colli, an officer supposed to be admirably calculated for the management of a defensive system; while the Emperor confided the direction of his forces to baron Beaulieu, an able and enterprising warrior, whose virtues and exploits had long since acquired for him a high degree of reputation.

The Directory, on the other hand, instead of selecting one of its victorious chiefs, placed Napoleone Bonaparte, a man untried and almost unknown, at the head of the army of Italy. Born in Corsica, and educated in France, this aspiring youth already exhibited the promise of great talents; but he had acquired little practical knowledge, and was chiefly indebted to the patronage of Barras, and his own zeal during the recent disputes with the insurgent sections of Paris*, for being elevated to so high a station before he had attained the twenty-sixth year of his age. However, if the new general possessed less experience than his opponents, it was hoped that on the other hand he would discover a greater degree of enthusiasm; and there were some who even then imagined, that the burning ardour of a juvenile mind, avaricious of glory, and prepared for extraordinary enterprises, was most congenial to the impetuosity of French troops, and best calculated to fill up the grand and masterly outline of a campaign, sketched by the hand of Carnot. The war, no longer confined to the attack and defence of posts, was now destined to exhibit a scientific appearance; the course of the rivers, the height and direction of the mountains, the extent of the forests, the nature of the government, and the inclination of the inhabitants, were all consulted; every movement was studied, combined, and generalised; and the contest no longer depending on the fate

* This, which is termed the insurrection of Vendemaire, occurred during the 3d, 4th, and 5th of October, 1795.

of a single action, became one continued series of combats, or rather of pitched battles.

HAVING arrived at the head-quarters of his army, early in the spring, Bonaparte prepared to take the field, the moment that the disappearance of the snow permitted the march of his troops. In the mean time he strove to acquire the love of the soldiery, with whom he lived in habits of familiarity, often marching on foot at their head, exposing himself to the same hardships, redressing their grievances, and listening with attention to the complaints of the lowest sentinel. His popular manners soon acquired for him the affection of his army, and it now only remained to exhibit those talents, calculated to attain and preserve their confidence.

THE Piedmontese were posted on the declivity of the Alps, so as to extend from the Col de Tendi to Cairo, in the province of Acqui. The Imperialists occupied the heights of Savona, Sassello, Musona, Campo-Fredo, the Bochetta, the valleys of the Trebia, and the Serevia, including within their entrenchments the two roads leading from Genoa to the Milanese, the one by Novi and Tortona, and the other by Bobbio and Placentia.

THE French army, inferior in point of numbers, was cantoned all the way from Nice to the neighbourhood of Final; the head-quarters were established at Albenga, the advanced posts extended to Voltri, between Savona and Genoa, while Ormea on the other side of the mountains was in their possession.

HOSTILITIES were first renewed on the part of the Imperialists, who attacked Voltri with a body of ten thousand men. This important post was defended for a considerable time by general Cervoni at the head of about four thousand troops, but he was obliged to retire during the night, and the enemy pursuing their advantage in the course of the succeeding day, carried part of the line of entrenchments. Having at length rendered himself master of all the positions by which the centre of the French army was supported, Beaulieu appeared before the redoubt of Montenotte, where he experienced an unexpected degree of opposition from the general of brigade, Rampon. The intrepidity displayed by that officer, deter-

mined the fate of the day: for time being thus given for the columns to form in the defiles of the mountains, under the inspection of Bonaparte and general Berthier, La Harpe came up with his division, and attacked the Austrians with the bayonet; while that led by Massena, after taking a circuit, assailed them in the rear, and when they were defeated in front intercepted their flight, and took two thousand prisoners.

Bonaparte, following up his late advantage, removed his head-quarters to Carcara, and ordered general Laharpe to make a feint to cut off eight battalions stationed at Sozello, after which he was to march straight to Cairo; Massena was at the same time enjoined to scale the heights of Dego, while the generals Menard and Joubert were detached to occupy the summit of Bietro, and the formidable position of Santa Marguerita. But although this admirable movement, which was executed with equal precision and success, placed the French army on the other side of the Appenines, many of the passes were still in the hands of the enemy, and it was now determined to obtain immediate possession of them. Accordingly, early in the morning of the third day after the action at Montenotte, Augereau with his division forced the gorges of Millesimo, while the generals Menard and Joubert, after chasing the Imperialists from all the neighbouring positions, were fortunate enough to surround a body of fifteen hundred grenadiers. In this extremity, lieutenant-general count de Provera, who was at their head, by an extraordinary display of gallantry, arrested the progress of the victorious enemy; for instead of surrendering as was expected, he retired to the summit of the mountain of Copalia, and entrenched himself amidst the ruins of an ancient castle. Augereau, having brought up his artillery, summoned the Austrians to capitulate, and on their refusal, the French soldiery, ashamed of being stopped in their career by a handful of men, loudly demanded to scale the heights, and carry the place by assault. As the night was fast approaching, Augereau accordingly gave orders to form into four columns and commence the attack; general Joubert placing himself at the head of the first, after overcoming obstacles nearly insurmountable, threw himself with only seven men into the enemy's works;

but all his followers being killed, and he himself escaping with great difficulty, his troops first halted and then retired: the second and third divisions were also disconcerted by the death of their principal officers, who were killed in succession by marksmen posted on the top of the fortified rock.

The dawn of the ensuing morning discovered the hostile armies in presence of each other, and Provera and his grenadiers not only blockaded by the French, but assailed by batteries of howitzers, which Bonaparte had given orders to erect in the course of the night.

In the mean time several Austrian regiments made repeated attempts to pierce the centre of the enemy, but they were constantly repulsed by the general of brigade Menard; and about noon the French, by a rapid and fortunate movement, succeeded in carrying the village of Dego. General Laharpe marching at the head of three solid columns, overcame all opposition; one of these, commanded by Causse, passed the Bormida exposed to a severe fire of grape-shot, with the water reaching to the bellies of the soldiers, and attacked the right of the enemy's left wing; Cervoni at the head of another also crossed the same river, under the protection of his own batteries, and marched straight forward against the foe; while the adjutant-general Boyer, with the third, was posted in such a manner as to cut off their retreat. The left wing of the Imperialists being now enveloped on all sides, immediately gave way; while Augereau nearly at the same time forced the intrepid Provera and his grenadiers to lay down their arms, and thus completed the victory achieved by his countrymen, who in this and the two preceding combats had captured forty field-pieces, seized on the greater part of the baggage and magazines of the Austrians, and either killed or taken prisoners fifteen thousand men.

Nothing but some gallant and even desperate enterprise could now rescue the character of Beaulieu from disgrace, and stop the progress of Bonaparte, who, like a portentous comet, already appalled every beholder, and seemed to threaten not the Imperialists only, but all Italy, with destruction. Accordingly, the French troops had scarcely returned to their camp, and begun to enjoy that security always inspired

by victory, when this general, having assembled a body of seven thousand chosen men, rushed into the village of Dego at break of day, and carried it by a sudden charge with the bayonet. The French, taken by surprise, fled on all sides. Massena, who attempted to stop the progress of the enemy, was repulsed: Causse, at the head of the 90th demi-brigade, proved still more unfortunate, for he fell pierced with wounds; but he perished like a hero, and with his last breath uttered a generous wish for the prosperity of his country* The battle had now continued without intermission from the dawn until two o'clock in the afternoon, at which hour the victory was still uncertain. Bonaparte at length perceiving the necessity of making a grand effort, ordered the 89th demi-brigade, commanded by general Victor, to form in column, and advance against the village; while general Lasnes, who had rallied the 8th demi-brigade of light infantry, was instructed to charge the enemy's left. These prompt and well-combined movements having obliged the enemy to abandon Dego, the cavalry were sent in pursuit, and completed their disorder.

While the Austrians, abandoning the important post of the Bochetta, were in full retreat towards Tortona, by the road leading through Acqui and Gavi, on purpose to form a junction with the Neapolitan and Pontifical troops, the Piedmontese army, entrenched at Ceva, was exposed to the most imminent danger in consequence of the vicinity of Bonaparte, who immediately advanced with the assurance of a certain victory. Nor was he disappointed; for the generals Augereau and Serrurier having commenced an attack, the greater part of the redoubts thrown up by the enemy were immediately carried, and Colli being afraid lest his flank should be turned before morning, took advantage of the approaching

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* General Causse, finding himself mortally wounded, and seeing Bonaparte at a little distance, summoned up all his strength to make an enquiry relative to the fate of the action:
"Dego est-il repris?"
"Nous rentrons dans nos positions," repond le général.
"Je meurs content," ajoute Causse: "Vive la république!"

darkness to retire to an admirable position at the confluence of the Cursaglea and the Tanaro. Being nearly surrounded by these two deep and serpentine rivers, he immediately fortified their banks with strong batteries, and waited for succours either from the court of Turin or field-marshal Beaulieu.

In the mean time, general Surrurier took possession of the town of Ceva, where he found immense magazines; while Massena, having passed the Tanaro by means of a bridge, obliged the Piedmontese commander not only to abandon his entrenchments during the night, but also to retire in great confusion along the road leading to Mendovi, and his march being greatly retarded by an immense quantity of artillery, he was overtaken at break of day near the village of Vico. Notwithstanding his army did not now exceed fifteen thousand men, general Colli, by an extraordinary display of activity, courage, and perseverance, was enabled to secure his baggage behind the rivers Elera and Pesia; and although his troops were beaten on every side, he still found means to save his cannon: but the French, on that very day, entered Mendovi, a strong place, which made little or no resistance, and the river Sturà thus became the only remaining barrier between the victors and the capital of Piedmont, now only thirteen leagues distant from their head-quarters.

Bonaparte, with his usual activity, immediately crossed the Elera and the Pesia; and general Serrurier, in the course of two days more, obtained possession of Fossana, the head-quarters of the enemy, who immediately fell back on Turin.

The French, now masters of the course of the Tanaro, encamped in the midst of the plain of Piedmont, and prepared to besiege its metropolis; while their youthful leader inflamed the minds of the soldiery by a speech pronounced at the head of his army, in the style and manner of the generals of antiquity:

"Soldiers!" says he, "in the course of fourteeen days you have gained six victories, taken twenty-one stand of colours, fifty pieces of cannon, several strong fortresses, and conquered the richest portion of Piedmont: you have already seized fifteen hundred prisoners, and killed and wounded more than ten thousand men.

"You have as yet, however, only fought for sterile rocks, illustrated indeed by your valour, but useless to your country. Yet you already equal the victorious armies of Holland and the Rhine: destitute of all, you have acquired every thing; you have gained battles without cannon, crossed rivers without pontoons, made forced marches without shoes, and watched all night under arms without brandy, and sometimes even without bread. Republican phalanxes, the soldiers of liberty, are alone capable of suffering such privations as these.

"But, soldiers! notwithstanding two vanquished armies flee before you, it is needless to dissemble that you have achieved nothing, since Turin and Milan are not yet yours, and the ashes of the conquerors of Tarquin are still trodden under the feet of your enemies.

"You were bereft even of necessaries at the commencement of the campaign, and now you enjoy plenty; the magazines taken from your enemies are numerous; the heavy artillery is arrived, and your country has a right to expect important events. Will you realise her hopes? The greatest obstacles are doubtless overcome, but you have still battles to win, cities to take, rivers to pass. Is there one among you whose courage is subdued? Who would prefer to return again to the summits of the Appenines and the Alps, patiently to listen to the reproaches of a soldiery composed of slaves? No; there are none such among the conquerors of Montenote, Milesimo, Dego, and Mendovi.

"All burn to extend the glory of the French people; all are desirous to humble those haughty sovereigns who dared to menace us with chains; all wish to dictate a glorious peace, calculated to indemnify our country for the immense sacrifices it has made; all are eager to be able on returning to their native villages, to exclaim with pride, 'I also belonged to the victorious army of Italy.'

"Friends! I promise you this conquest; but it is on the express condition that you respect the people whom you are about to deliver from bondage, and avoid all thoughts of pillage, only dreamed of by those vile wretches set on by our enemies: without this, you will not be the liberators, but the

scourgers of enfranchised nations; you will not be an honour to the French, for they will disavow you; your victories, your courage, your successes, the very blood of your brethren shed in battle, will all be lost, and your honour and glory gone for ever.

"NATIONS of Italy! the army approaches on purpose to burst your fetters. France is the friend of every people; approach our standards with confidence. Your religion, your property, and your customs, shall all be respected. We will carry on the war like generous enemies, for we have no dispute but with the tyrants who keep you in servitude."

NOTWITHSTANDING Turin was well fortified, and its citadel might have impeded the career of a victorious enemy, and thus protracted the fate of Italy, yet the aged king, despairing of being succoured by the Austrians, and uncertain of the attachment of his own subjects, determined to avoid the horrors of a bombardment. He accordingly sent orders to general Colli to enter into a negociation for a truce, and the hard conditions annexed to this favour announced the fallen condition of the monarch, who surrendered Exilles, Tortona, Coni, Alexandria, and Château Dauphin, as the pledges of his good faith; relinquished Savoy and the county of Nice, for ever; and consented to the immediate demolition of the fortresses of Suza and Brunetta, on the French frontier.

ALTHOUGH Bonaparte had thus defeated two armies, and detached one of the kings from the coalition against France, yet he would not allow any respite either to himself or his troops. Having completely deceived the Austrians, by feigning to cross the Po at Valenza, he suddenly reached Castel San-Giovani, by a forced march, at the head of a division of five thousand grenadiers and fifteen hundred cavalry, with which he passed that formidable river, near Placentia, in open boats, after experiencing a feeble resistance from two squadrons of hussars. On this Beaulieu, abandoning the field fortifications on the banks of the Tesino, which had now become useless, determined to attack the French before the arrival of the whole army had rendered the fate of a battle dubious: but he was anticipated by Bonaparte, who assailed two of his posts with such fury and success, that one body of eight

thousand Austrians, although assisted by twenty pieces of cannon, was driven out of Tombio by general Dallemagne, while another of five thousand was defeated near Codogno by the gallant Laharpe, who fell during the combat.

No sooner had the French crossed the Po, than the potentates of Italy were eager to consult their own safety. The duke of Parma, conscious of his weakness, immediately transmitted to Paris all the master-pieces of painting and sculpture which had hitherto adorned his states; the senate of Venice ordered the count de Provence to quit its territories; the grand-duke of Tuscany also sued for favour: the pope himself exhibited an inclination for peace; while the king of Naples sent a minister to Genoa, on purpose to arrange the terms on which he was to be admitted to the enjoyment of tranquillity. All the sea-ports of the peninsula were now shut to the English, abundance reigned in the French camp, and the treasury of the army was filled either by means of voluntary or extorted contributions, of which one prince alone * engaged to pay two millions of livres, while he at the same time furnished a supply of sixteen hundred horses, two thousand oxen, ten thousand quintals of wheat, five thousand of oats, and twenty pictures, the choice of which was left to the commander-in-chief.

But Bonaparte was well aware that his conquests would never be consolidated, until he had overcome the Austrians, and seized on all their Italian possessions. No sooner therefore had his artillery arrived, than he pursued the retreating enemy, who had by this time assumed a formidable position, strengthened by entrenchments, which extended from the great road leading from Lodi to Crema, as far as the conflux of the Adda and the Po below Pizzighitone. Leaving Pavia, Coma, and Milan, on his left, the French commander, after distracting the attention of Beaulieu by menacing different points in succession, and thus forcing him to extend his cantonements, marched several divisions suddenly towards Lodi, and attacked that town with such irresistible impetuosity, that

* The duke of Parma.

the Imperialists were forced to cross the Adda in so precipitate a manner, that they were unable to cut down the bridge behind them. They however contrived to bring up a number of cannon, and establish formidable batteries, by means of which they obtained a cross fire that rendered the passage hazardous in the extreme, and it was the opinion of the best French engineers that it ought not to be attempted. But no consideration could resist the impetuosity either of the soldiers or their leaders; for four thousand grenadiers being formed into a solid column, made a sudden charge, and had already proceeded six hundred feet, which was exactly half the length of the bridge, when they became exposed to such an incessant shower of grape shot, that the foremost ranks were completely swept away, and the troops, who had hitherto advanced at a quick pace, with bent heads and extended bayonets, were first staggered, and then began to hesitate, as to their further progress. At this critical moment, the generals Berthier, Massena, Cervoni, and Dallemagne, starting from the ranks, invited the grenadiers to renew the attack, while Bonaparte, by his gestures, encouraged them to follow him; on this, the column, being determined on death or victory, was instantly in motion, and by turns chanting the Marseillese hymn, and exclaiming "Long live the republic!" crossed the other half of the bridge, and seized on the artillery that had so lately spread death and destruction amidst their ranks.

In the mean time, the cavalry had swam across the river, at a little distance, and Augereau coming up nearly at the same time with his division, the Austrians, astonished, beaten, and overcome on every side, not only abandoned their cannon and baggage, but lost about four thousand in killed, wounded, and prisoners; while the brave but unfortunate Beaulieu, taking advantage of the night, took refuge under the cannon of Mantua, and abandoned Pizzighitone, Cremona, and the whole of the Milanese, to the victors.

From this day too the Italians, dazzled with the successes of the republican French, and not unmindful of the glory acquired by their own ancestors under a similar form of government, began to be desirous of a change. The keys of Milan

were immediately sent to the conqueror, the arms of the emperor were defaced by the inhabitants themselves, the aristocracy destroyed their own liveries and armorial bearings, and a national guard was formed, in which the nobles, for the first time, served indiscriminately with the people. The three-coloured standard now floated in triumph from the extremity of the lake of Coma, and the frontiers of the Grisons, to the gates of Pavia; and to complete the conquest of Lombardy, the capture of one insignificant fortress * was alone wanting. This gleam of prosperity also enabled the French to seize on Leghorn, the neutrality of which could not protect the ducal crown from humiliation. The king of Sicily willingly agreed to withdraw his army from the coalition; and the pope, whose tardy acquiescence endangered the existence of the papal see, was at length glad to escape from the vengeance of an army to which he was now odious, by the relinquishment of Bologna, Ferrara, and Urbino, the cession of Ancona, a contribution of twenty-one millions of franks by instalments, and a present of one hundred pictures, statues, busts, and vases, which were to be selected by proficients in the fine arts.

In the mean time, many of the principal inhabitants of the conquered countries, attached to the house of Austria, averse from the French, and dreading the domination of a people hitherto uniformly cruel and unjust in Italy, determined to effect a revolt. A provisional contribution of twenty millions of livres, imposed upon Milan, and to be levied upon the rich alone, contributed not a little to sharpen their resentments; commotions accordingly took place in all the great cities, and the peasantry, inflamed by the priests, attacked and killed the stragglers in the neighbouring districts. The moment that Bonaparte received intelligence of this insurrection, he marched against Milan, with strong detachments of infantry and cavalry; and being intoxicated on one hand with his good fortune, and indignant on the other at the presumption of his enemies, he issued his commands that all those taken in arms

* The castle of Milan; this was taken after a siege of ten days.

should be shot; he also ordered the municipal officers of Pavia to be put to death, and the village of Bagnasco to be consumed by fire. So true it is that the heart of man is liable to be corrupted by prosperity, that the possession of supreme power is calculated to stifle the sensations of humanity and the throes of remorse, that of all rulers a victorious general is the least considerate, and of all governments a military one the most cruel, intolerable, and oppressive!

After establishing popular societies, proclaiming a republican form of government, and employing the same arts in Italy which Custine had before practised in Germany, Bonaparte marched in pursuit of Beaulieu, who had by this time crossed the Oglio and the Mensio, and assumed a new position, with his right flank supported by the lake of Garda, and the fortress of Peschiera, and his left strengthened by Mantua, which was now the only city appertaining to the emperor in Italy.

Having removed the head-quarters to Brescia, the French commander in chief, after menacing all the posts of the enemy in turn as before, assembled the army during the night, behind the heights of Capriana and Volta, and at day-break directed his march towards Borghetta. The approaches to that important place were defended by four thousand infantry and eighteen hundred horse; but the assailants having forced all the redoubts, the Austrians crossed the bridge, and cut down one of the arches. On this, an ineffectual attempt was made to re-establish the communication, and an awful pause ensued; but at length a column of grenadiers, led by general Gardanne, jumped into the river, and with the water up to their chins, and their muskets elevated above their heads, waded across to the astonishment of the enemy, who recollecting the column of Lodi, immediately gave way.

Beaulieu, who not only imagined that he was betrayed, but had actually arrested one of his principal officers* on suspicion, after supplying Mantua with a garrison, withdrew behind the Adige, and resigned the command to general

* Major-general Argenteau.

Melas. Thus, while the court of Vienna on one hand alarmed at its recent losses, strained every nerve to assemble a new army in Carinthia and the Tyrole, the directory dazzled with the achievements of Bonaparte, and as yet unsuspicious of being dethroned by the enterprising Corsican, proclaimed and celebrated a festival in honour of his victories.

At the moment when the banks of the Seine resounded with the name of the hero who had chased the Austrians from Italy, he himself was adopting the most vigorous measures to prevent their return, by the investment of Mantua. Accordingly, while Massena was posted at Verona, so as to intercept all succours on that side, and the garrison of Peschiera prevented the arrival of any supplies from the Tyrole, the French took possession of the suburbs of St. Georgio, and established their head-quarters at the Favorita; the cannon taken from the emperor and the king of Sardinia furnishing them with artillery sufficient for all the purposes of a blockade. Bonaparte at the same time addressed a proclamation to the Tyrolese, which preceded the march of his troops into the defiles of the mountains; he also took possession of the defiles of the Appenines, and seized on the fortress of Fuentes, situated on the lake of Coma. General Lasnes was soon after dispatched to chastise the peasantry of the Imperial fiefs, who having risen at the command of their lords, were now punished in a summary manner; all the houses in the territory of Arquata being burnt, and the chiefs of the revolt shot!

In the mean time, although pressed on all sides by victorious generals, the cabinet of Vienna did not relax in its efforts. While Jourdan was subduing Germany, and Moreau penetrating to the Rhetian Alps, field marshal Wurmser, a warrior whose head had been blanched with more than sixty campaigns, and in his eightieth year seemed to be exempt from the infirmities of age, was nominated to the command of a new army, levied for the defence of Mantua. Although lately defeated by one French general* near Manheim, he contrived to elude the vigilance and overcome the obstacles

* Moreau.

presented by another to prevent his entrance into Italy, by descending along both sides of the lake of Garda, and overcoming the troops stationed there to oppose him.

The youthful Bonaparte, who was completely foiled upon this occasion by the skill of a veteran commander, learned with astonishment that Corona and Salo had been seized upon by the Austrians, who in the course of the succeeding day took possession of Verona and Brescia. On this, the French were obliged not only to evacuate their posts on the Adige, but even to raise the blockade of Mantua, and both the Germans and Italians began to imagine, that they would be forced to abandon Lombardy.

But they were mistaken, for Bonaparte was determined once more to try the fortune of a pitched battle; and as the victorious Imperialists were separated from each other by the intervention of the Mincio, the Naviglio, the Garzo, and the Chieusa, he resolved to consider them as so many distinct bodies of troops. Accordingly, having crossed the first of these rivers with his whole army, he instantly retook Brescia and Salo, drove the enemy quartered there into the mountains, and then returned to attack Wurmser, who had advanced against, and prepared to meet him, in a most admirable position with his right to the Mincio, his left to the Chieusa, and his main body at Castiglione. The centre of the French army was commanded by general Augereau; the right by general Beaumont, who had a body of infantry and light artillery and all the cavalry under him; and the left by Massena. A division led by general Serrurier, which had orders to gain the rear of the Austrian army and attack the flank as soon as the engagement commenced, decided the fate of the battle; for field-marshal Wurmser found it necessary to repass the Mincio, and assume the formidable position occupied by Beaulieu anterior to the action at Borghetta, after having lost five hundred men killed in the field, eight pieces of cannon, and two thousand prisoners. But he was unable to remain even there; for being attacked next day, one portion of the Austrians was driven as far as Trent, while another retired to the banks of the Brenta; on which Bonaparte resumed his former position on the Adige, and sat

down once more before Mantua, after having punished an insurrection of the inhabitants of Dego with all the horrors that could be inflicted by fire and the sword.

While general Sahuguet conducted the operations of the siege, the main body of the French advanced against the Austrians, who had already burnt part of their flotilla on the lake of Garda, and after being driven from the camp of Mori, retired to Roveredo, where Wurmser had established a most formidable line of defence, with the centre of his army supported by the castle of Colliano, his left strengthened by a steep mountain, and his right by the Adige. Bonaparte, who had just received intelligence of the brilliant exploits of Moreau, now in full march to the Tyrole, determined on an immediate attack, being afraid, if he suffered this opportunity to elapse, that the position of the Austrians would be rendered inexpugnable.

Accordingly, the troops, although greatly fatigued, were instantly formed into columns, and while general Dommartin commenced the engagement with eight pieces of light artillery, Massena advanced at the head of the grenadiers, who penetrated to the entrenchments, and cut down the barriers with their hatchets. On this the Austrians gave way, and were pursued by the cavalry, who immediately took possession of Trent. The army, which had marched and fought during sixteen hours without intermission, arrived there also at eight o'clock in the morning, but refused to take any rest before the enemy had been driven from the post of Laves.

The gallant German, displaying equal constancy and courage, after the loss of six thousand of his troops, now abandoned the banks of the Arisio, to occupy the borders of the Brenta; but being pursued by an indefatigable enemy, his rear guard was overtaken and defeated at the village of Primolano, after which Bonaparte imediately passed the defiles of the mountains, and commenced an attack on the main body. Encouraged by the presence of Wurmser, who fought at their head, and favoured by an excellent position, the Austrians exhibited their usual valour and ill fortune, for their centre was pierced by the fourth demi-brigade of the line and

the fifth demi-brigade of light-infantry, while Augereau forcing a bridge in spite of the opposition experienced on the part of a body of grenadiers posted there to secure the retreat of their general, entered Bassano nearly at the same time, but in a different quarter from Massena, who had marched through the suburbs.

On this, the intrepid field-marshal, finding himself cut off from the main body of his army, immediately assembled some horse, which had suffered but little during the action, and with great difficulty rejoined a division of five thousand cavalry and an equal number of infantry in the neighbourhood of Montebello. With this force, which was now all that remained of one of the most numerous and best appointed armies that had ever entered Italy, he marched with incredible celerity, by mounting his foot soldiers behind the dragoons, and having crossed the Molinella, and defeated general Charton, who attempted to oppose his progress, at length entered Mantua, to the joy and surprise of the garrison.

While Bonaparte had now sufficient leisure to disseminate the spirit of revolution throughout Italy, and erect the Cispadane and Transpadane republics on the ruins of the Austrian government, the emperor was not only alarmed at the loss of Lombardy and the Milanese, but affected at the fate of the brave and unfortunate Wurmser, now shut up within the walls of Mantua. Alvinzy, a member of the aulic council of war, was accordingly placed at the head of another army, and the defeat of Jourdan at this critical period enabled him to penetrate once more into Italy. Fortune was at first favourable to the new general, who defeated a detachment of the enemy, while Bonaparte deemed it necessary to abandon Bassano, Vicenza, Trent, and Roveredo, and concentrate his forces along the Adige, and the borders of the lake of Garda. The field-marshal now expected to be able to form a junction with the army of the Tyrole, and raise the blockade of Mantua, at the head of fifty thousand men; but his progress was intercepted by Bonaparte, who suddenly appeared in order of battle, with his left commanded by Vaubois, his right by Massena, and his centre by Augereau. Having ordered the two last generals to advance, the out-posts of the

Austrians were immediately driven in; but an obstinate resistance was experienced at Arcole, a position equally strengthened by nature and art, being situate in the midst of marshes and canals, and fortified by a numerous artillery. This important village stopped the march of the greater part of the army during a whole day; and as both sides knew that the possession of the place would decide the fate of the contest, the attack and defence were equally obstinate. It was in vain that some of the principal French officers placed themselves at the head of the columns, and braved all the fury of the enemy; for the generals Verdier, Vernes, and Lasnes, were wounded and obliged to retire, while Augereau, who had advanced with a stand of colours in his hand, was forced to withdraw from the storm of grape-shot with which he and his followers were assailed. The commander in chief, conceiving it impossible to surmount the difficulties that occurred at the bridge of Arcole in the same manner as at that of Lodi, ordered general Guieux to descend along the banks of the Adige with a corps of two thousand men, and pass the river at a ferry near Ronco, with a view of turning the village; but being unable in the mean time to restrain his own natural impetuosity, he repaired with his staff to the front of Augereau's division, and advancing at the head of the grenadiers, ordered them to charge; he however had scarcely proceeded thirty steps, when the incessant fire of the Austrians broke down the bridge, and forced Bonaparte into a morass, whence he was with some difficulty rescued. The battle was renewed next day, and night alone forced the combatants to separate, before victory had declared on either side.

On the third morning, a combined attack was concerted and executed, by Massena on the left, and Augereau in front, while the garrison of Porto-Legnano, supported by a considerable train of artillery, received orders to make a diversion in the rear. The column that attacked the bridge was however once more repulsed, and fell back in disorder towards Ronco; but on receiving a reinforcement, the battle was again renewed, and the Austrians seeing their left about to be turned, abandoned the field, and retired towards Vicenza.

In the mean time, the left wing of the French army had been forced by general Davidowich, who seized on the important post of Rivoli, and advanced to Castello-Nuovo, within eight leagues of Mantua; but Bonaparte taking advantage of his late victory, ordered a body of troops under general Massena to repass the Adige, and attack the successful division, which was forced to retire behind the Arisio, while Alvinzy took refuge on the other side of the Brenta, after losing about six thousand men in killed and wounded, eighteen pieces of cannon, and four standards.

Thus ended one of the most memorable campaigns recorded in history, in the course of which all the resources of modern war were exhibited and displayed on a grand scale, and countries won and abandoned, not as heretofore, after a contest of a few hours, but in consequence of a succession of memorable battles, such as those of Millesimo, Ceva, Lodi, Dego, and Arcole.

But what chiefly fixed the attention of Europe, was the astonishing success of the French general, who placing himself at the head of an inferior body of troops, with all the impetuous valour, and none of the ill fortune, of one of the greatest commanders of antiquity, had rushed down in imitation of him from the mountains like a torrent upon Italy, overcoming every obstacle, and overwhelming all opposition. Three armies and four generals defeated, one after the other; a multitude of princes courting the favour of the conqueror, by presents of statues, pictures, and gold; a vanquished monarch abandoning the coalition of kings, and resigning his principal fortresses; these are some of the wonders of this eventful period, and constituted for a time the claim of Bonaparte to the wonder, and perhaps to the admiration of mankind.

## CHAP. X.

### *Campaign in Germany.*

WHILE victory seemed to hover over the banners of the republic along the banks of the Trebia and the Adige, the war was renewed with redoubled fury on the borders of the Rhine. The directory, who had consented to a truce, a measure never tolerated by the committees of the convention, on the expiration of the stipulated epoch, put the army in motion, with a view of besieging Mentz; and the operations in that quarter were at first fortunate, the invaders having proved successful in several attacks on the Sieg and the Lahn. But the unexpected successes of Bonaparte in Italy seemed to open a new scene of glory, and it was now determined to trample the Imperial eagle in the dust.

A PLAN equally singular and daring was accordingly substituted in the place of the former; and it must be allowed, that if Carnot, the projector, violated all the ancient rules of tactics by leaving so many strong towns in the rear of the invaders and entangling them in the defiles of mountains at a hundred leagues distance from their own frontiers, he at least consulted the genius of his countrymen, fond of singular achievements and not averse from any danger. In pursuance of his scheme a powerful force was to penetrate into the circle of Suabia, seize on the country adjoining the lake of Constance, march through the passes of Brégentz, and after scaling the Rhetian Alps, enter the Tyrol; and while one body of troops, following the course of the Ram, at length reached the Adige, and communicated with the army of Italy, another was to traverse the valleys of the Inn, and extend itself to the borders of the Danube, in the neighbourhood of Passau.

As the conduct of Pichegru had become suspicious, and it was determined that he should be no longer entrusted with the command, two generals, whose fidelity had never been doubtful, were selected upon this important occasion. Jourdan, at the head of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, accordingly crossed the Rhine in the neighbourhood of Ander-

nach and Coblentz, and Moreau determined to pass the same river in a different part. After a number of evolutions, with a view of distracting the attention of the enemy, he appeared suddenly before Strasburgh, where a great number of waggons had been collected under pretence of conducting succours to the army of Italy. Having ordered the gates to be shut, he held a council of war, and embarking his van-guard, crossed to the opposite side by moonlight. Immediately on their landing the troops carried all the enemy's posts with the bayonet, and by ten o'clock in the morning they had seized on the fort and village of Kehl, occupied by the troops of the circles, as well as on a neighbouring redoubt, notwithstanding seven thousand Imperialists were encamped within a few miles.

After this Moreau re-established the bridge across the Rhine, and on the arrival of his artillery, attacked and carried the camp of Wilstedt. Three successful battles threw all Germany into dismay, and not only enabled the invaders to gain the passes of the Black Forest, but to invest Mentz, Manheim, Philipsburgh, and Ehrenbreitstein, at the same time. The first of these was fought at the village of Renchen, rendered famous by a victory obtained by Turenne over Montecuculi towards the latter end of the seventeenth century, and where the republican French at the conclusion of the eighteenth took twelve hundred prisoners, seized on the greater part of the enemy's light artillery, and strewed the field with the slain; the second occurred at the bridge of Rastadt, which proved less decisive; and the third at Etlingen, where the archduke Charles, a gallant and popular prince, now placed at the head of the Austrian army, contended against Moreau in person. The engagement was long and obstinate; but general Saint-Cyr having obtained possession of the summit of Rottensolhe, one of the steepest of the Black Mountains, after five successive attacks, and general Desaix proving at length successful against the village of Malsch, the Austrians were obliged to retire to Pfortzhein, dispirited by the incessant charges of the enemy, and rather wearied out by their enthusiasm than overcome by their valour; while Jour-

dan, crossing the Lahn, the Maine, and the Necker, took possession of Frankfort, seized on Aschaffenburg and Wurtzburg, and rendered the whole of Franconia, the birth-place of the ancient Franks, subject to their descendants.

The armies of the Sambre and Meuse, and the Rhine and Moselle, being now enabled to co-operate with and assist each other, Moreau seized upon Stuttgard, and obliged the duke of Wirtemburg, the margrave of Baden, and all the princes of Suabia, to sue for peace. After this he resumed his march, and experienced the first attack on the part of the enemy at Dunselchingen, where two French demi-brigades were surprised and nearly cut in pieces; but a combat of two days' duration at Neresheim once more procured a decided superiority in favour of the assailants.

The invading armies now advanced towards the centre of Germany, along both sides of the Danube; one traversing Franconia, a province abundantly provided with all the necessaries of life, the other taking the route of Upper Suabia, a country entirely destitute of resources. While general Ferino penetrated beyond the lake of Constance, Moreau forced the elector of Bavaria to sue for peace, and Jourdan seizing on Nuremberg, Ingolstadt, and Amberg, and making incursions as far as Ratisbonne, menaced the house of Austria with inevitable ruin.

At this critical period, notwithstanding its armies had been repeatedly discomfited in Italy, and all its possessions in that quarter, Mantua alone excepted, were in possession of the enemy, the cabinet of Vienna displayed the most heroic firmness, relying implicity on the gallantry of the troops and the fortitude of their commander, who had hitherto retired step by step, and although often overtaken, was never wholly subdued.

The archduke having received considerable supplies of men and artillery, determined at length to arrest the progress of the victorious armies; for by overcoming one he knew that he would stop the further career of both, and thus free Germany from the invaders, who had rendered themselves detestable to the inhabitants. He accordingly watched the motions of Moreau by means of a corps of observation, and ad-

vancing in person against Jourdan, whose head-quarters were at Unsdorf, engaged the French. This action, one of the most bloody recorded in modern times, was continued during three successive days ; and although the enemy in the end gave way in consequence of being charged by a body of fresh troops, yet so orderly was their retreat at first that they recrossed the Maine without the loss of either baggage or artillery, notwithstanding they were closely pursued ; but no sooner had they reached the neighbourhood of Wurtzburgh than they were overtaken and defeated once more, and being seized with terror, immediately disbanded. On this Jourdan fled in great precipitation towards Dusseldorff with the scanty remnant of his once formidable army, while the gallant Marceau made an useless sacrifice of his life in an attempt to effect a diversion in favour of his general.

The disorderly conduct of the army of the Sambre and Meuse placed that of the Rhine and the Moselle in the most critical position, for all the conquests of Moreau were now become useless in consequence of the defeat of Jourdan. The former, after conducting his victorious troops from the banks of the Rhine to those of the Danube and the Isere, and proving successful in no less than five pitched battles, as well as a multitude of skirmishes, was now obliged to commence his celebrated retreat, which may be justly compared with that of a great warrior of antiquity, more especially as Xenophon conducted the Greeks through the territories of a cowardly and effeminate people, while Moreau traversed a country inhabited by one of the most warlike nations in the universe.

Instead of appearing disconcerted by the recent successes of the archduke, the French general actually crossed the Danube, as if with an intention to succour his defeated colleague ; but this movement was merely calculated to collect his detachments, and concentrate his strength. After effecting this, he ordered a proclamation to be read at the head of every battalion, in which it was stated, " that the commander in chief expected every thing from his soldiers, and was conscious that the momentary success of the enemy in another quarter, and the measures he was obliged to pursue in consequence of that event, would not diminish any of the energy and valour

so often displayed by this army." He added, "that the moment would soon arrive when they should have an opportunity of earning new laurels, and in the mean time he hoped that the signal for combat would be also the signal for victory."

After having completely deceived the Austrians relative to the route he intended to take, Moreau crossed the Lech, and gave orders to cut down all the bridges behind him; he then ascended along the banks of the Danube, and stationed his head-quarters at Ulm. Finding himself closely pursued, he attacked general Latour in his camp between Biberach and Buchau, and after a long and bloody action, not only forced him to retire in confusion, but would have entirely destroyed his army had it not been for the gallant resistance on the part of the emigrants under the prince de Condé, who covered the retreat of the Austrians, and saved their baggage.

He now divided his army into two bodies, and marched suddenly through Munderkingen, Neudlingen, and Balengen, to attack the generals Nauendorff and Petrasch, who were forced to abandon their respective positions: so terrible was this commander, even in the moment of retreat, that he took no less than seven thousand prisoners in these different actions.

Having at length opened a communication with the forest towns, forced the passes of the Black Forest, and penetrated through the Val-d'Enfer, the name of which sufficiently expresses the nature of the country, with his centre, he employed his two wings against the numerous detachments, led on by the generals Latour, Petrasch, and Nauendorff.

The French army having resumed its march, the main body encamped in the neighbourhood of Fribourg, and waited for the arrival of the rest of the troops: the moment a junction had been effected, the archduke Charles assaulted, and with some difficulty carried, the village of Kendringen; next day he attacked part of the enemy stationed at Nymbourg, but after an action that lasted from ten o'clock in the morning until dark, he was obliged to desist from his enterprise, having experienced considerable loss in consequence of the spirited resistance of general Dessaix.

Moreau, now abandoned the Brisgaw, and at the head of an army fatigued by the length of its march, destitute of

shoes, and rendered sickly by continual rains, marched towards the banks of the Rhine; and dividing his army into two bodies, Dessaix repassed that river at Brisach, while he himself directed his course towards Huningen, continually followed and harassed by the enemy.

On his arrival at Schliengen he assumed an excellent position, and notwithstanding the superior numbers of the Austrians, determined to wait the event of a battle. He was accordingly attacked along the whole of his line, but the enemy were repulsed on every side. However, Moreau moved his camp on the night of the engagement, and having passed the Rhine at Huningen without any molestation on the part of the enemy, returned to Strasburg, the point whence he had set out, after one of the most memorable expeditions recorded in history.

The archduke Charles, by a singular union of gallantry, talents, and good fortune, had thus liberated Germany from the yoke of France; and an excellent opportunity was now afforded of conveying succours to Italy. But that prince, dazzled with his recent successes, spent those precious moments in a petty warfare, which ought to have been dedicated to the relief of Mantua, and wasted that force by an useless campaign during the rigours of winter, which if it had been reserved until the spring, might have wrested Lombardy from its conquerors.

While the French were employed on one hand in strengthing the works of Kehl, the Austrians, who had invested it for some time, were busied on the other in completing their approaches, and attacking this little fortress according to the rules of art. Moreau, happy at being thus enabled to engage the attention of the Imperial army about so trifling an object, appointed Dessaix governor, supplied the place with heavy artillery, erected a strong pallisade, and defended it by means of an entrenched camp, which could be constantly supplied with fresh troops from Strasburg. He himself soon after made a sally at the head of a body of troops with a view of retarding the operations of the enemy, and obtained possession of the village of Suntheim as well as of two redoubts in its neighbourhood; he also took seven hundred prisoners,

seized on seven and spiked fifteen pieces of artillery, but was at length repulsed by the archduke, and obliged to retire after receiving a wound in the head.

The Austrians, flushed with success, proceeded with increased vigour, and the garrison was at length forced to capitulate after a blockade of one hundred and fifteen and a siege of fifty days; so honourable were the terms granted to the troops upon this occasion, that they were permitted to withdraw with their artillery, arms, and baggage, their drums beating and colours flying, and even allowed to carry away their own pallisades, as well as the bombs and cannon balls which had been fired by the enemy.

After the evacuation of fort Kehl the republicans only possessed one single post on the right bank of the Rhine: this consisted of the entrenched position at Corne, intended to cover the bridge of Huningen, which had been for some time masked by thirteen battalions and two squadrons under the prince of Furstensburg. Being attacked suddenly at ten o'clock at night, by the left wing of the Austrian army, which advanced in three columns, forced the barriers of a halfmoon, and entered by escalade, the French retired into the hornwork, where they were threatened with an assault. On this general Abbatucci placing himself at the head of a body of troops, sallied forth on the Imperialists, who were trying to make a lodgment, and forced them to retreat, but not until he himself had received a wound, of which he died a few days after. General Sisce, who succeeded to the command, held out for a considerable time, and when he at length agreed to surrender the post, he was allowed two whole days to withdraw the garrison, and remove every moveable appertaining to the place.

In the midst of these achievements France was rescued from the dangers and calamities of a civil war which had so long preyed upon her entrails, and the chiefs who had so manfully supported the declining fortunes of the Bourbons, either embraced a voluntary exile, or suffered death as the atonement for their rebellion.

## CHAP. XI.

*Conclusion of the War in La Vendée.*

WHILE De Puisaye, assisted by the English ministry, made a vain attempt to retain possession of the barren isthmus of Quiberon, the Vendéan chiefs again erected the standard of revolt, and endeavoured, if they could not defeat, at least to elude the vengeance of the armies of the directory. But their followers no longer adhered to them with the same blind confidence they had hitherto displayed; for their power and authority had been shaken by the late pacification, and the armistice, short as it was, afforded sufficient time to the insurgents to reflect on the misery of their former situation, pursued incessantly by the bayonets, and not unfrequently hemmed in by the devouring fire of the republican columns.

ON the renewal of hostilities, Charette published a proclamation*, dated from his camp near Belleville, in which he asserted that the deputies of the convention had inveigled the Vendéans into a negociation for peace, on the express condition "that Louis XVII. should be seated on the throne;" and he added, that "the ill-fated son of their unfortunate monarch had been poisoned in a base and cowardly manner by that impious and barbarous sect, which, far from being destroyed, still desolated the unfortunate kingdom."

"WHAT then is our duty?" continued he: "that which honour and our inviolable attachment to the throne and the altar dictate; that which the people themselves, more enraged than ever, demand and desire. We have taken up arms again, and renewed the inviolable oath never to lay them down, until the heir-apparent to the crown shall be seated on the throne of his forefathers, and the Roman-catholic religion acknowledged and respected.

* June 26, 1795.

"FRENCHMEN! ye who still deserve this name, judge and decide on our sentiments and conduct: join, or rather imitate us. Rise at last from that dastardly stupor and indifference wherein you have so long languished. Rally around the common centre of the honour and glory of the nation; cease to be in appearance the guilty associates of your enemies, and to serve your executioners: let experience tutor you, and prefer a glorious death to a life branded with crimes."

ON the other hand, Hoche, who had now obtained the rank of general of the army of the West, addressed a declaration to the inhabitants of the insurgent departments, in which he stated that their cowardly chiefs, forgetting their late oaths, had not only recommenced hostilities, but signalised their treason by the assassination of one hundred and thirty-six prisoners. He invited them to lay down their arms, rebuild their cottages, and resume the labours of the field; while he promised in return, that their persons and property should be considered as inviolate. He at the same time sent general Cherin to Paris, with a proposal for terminating the war of La Vendée. It was suggested that the insurgent districts should be subject to military authority alone; that the principal towns should be declared in a state of siege; that the commander in chief should be permitted to allow any of the leaders to abandon their party and their country; and, to give effect to the whole, that the three armies of Cherbourg, Brest and the Ocean, should be united. Hoche himself soon after repaired to the capital on purpose to develope the particulars of a plan which was destined to give peace to France, and being powerfully seconded by Barras, he was at length entrusted with the execution of his own schemes of pacification.

ON his return to head-quarters the general immediately collected his forces, divided his troops into four moveable columns, enacted severe regulations against pillage; and while he offered peace and indemnity to all such as laid down their arms, he prepared to chastise those who would not submit to authority. He at the same time strengthened the principal military positions by means of entrenched posts, disarmed the inhabitants, and when they proved refractory seized on

their cattle, which were never restored until they had delivered up all the musquets within the district. His troops were also prepared to march at a moment's notice to punish the least commotion; and while he obtained possession of the persons of the leaders, sometimes by means of money, and sometimes by force of arms, he was careful to treat women, old men, and children, with humanity.

Notwithstanding all his precautions, the insurgents at times found means to surprise the neighbouring villages, and to assemble in considerable numbers; but although the town of Mortagne was taken possession of by stratagem, and, in consequence of extraordinary exertions on the part of Charette, Sapineau, and Dubruc, they were enabled at one time to assemble nine thousand infantry, and six thousand cavalry, yet they could no longer collect and retain large armies, make inroads into distant districts, or fight pitched battles, as before. On the other hand, the forces employed by the directory against them, although numerous, were destitute of supplies, and in want of every thing. The moveable columns, destined to pursue the enemy, were frequently obliged to march in search of provisions, and left for a considerable time without clothes, and even without shoes; in addition to this, there was such a mortality among the cavalry, that it was with some difficulty even the commander in chief could procure horses for his own use.

Hoche, however, was enabled to carry all his schemes into execution; for by protecting the priests, and either corrupting or vanquishing the chiefs, he at last succeeded in ruining the cause of the royalists. Such was the dread of his policy, as well as the terror of his arms, that Scepeaux, formerly a colonel of cavalry, and who had lately distinguished himself by new successes at the head of a considerable body of insurgents, was prevailed upon to submit, while his followers at the same time surrendered their arms, consisting of twelve hundred musquets. This example was followed by a number of the Chouans of Morbihan; and Frotté having retired to England, the inhabitants of Mayenne, being thus left destitute of a leader, submitted also to the republic.

As Sapineau had recurred to arms, general Willot was sent with a column of one thousand eight hundred men into the districts occupied by his adherents, with orders to seize on the grain and oxen of the inhabitants, and not to restore the latter until they had deposited their arms in the public magazines. Another body of troops proceeded in search of Stofflet, who still headed a small band of determined followers: this chief, unable any longer to cope with the republican forces in the open field, lurked in the woods; and being now forced to recur to the habits of his early life, conducted his followers to the combat with the same cunning that he formerly led his dogs to the chace, sometimes firing at his prey from behind trees and hedges, and at other times encouraging those obedient to his command in the pursuit and murder of stragglers.

Charette, still more cautious, remained secreted with a few faithful adherents, and made war like a freebooter rather than a general; in fine, it was now evident that these chiefs had lost all their influence, and that the Vendéan insurrection was at length drawing to a close.

At length the two principal leaders fell into the hands of their enemies. Stofflet being desirous to place himself at the head of a formidable party, on the return of spring left the haunts where he had so long remained in security, and ventured into the neighbouring towns. Being indefatigable in his exertions, he repaired from place to place on purpose to stimulate the luke-warm loyalty of a people heretofore burning with zeal. One of these excursions proved fatal to him. Having repaired to the village of Langreniere, with only a single domestic and a couple of aide-de-camps, two republican officers, Lontil and Liegard, were informed by the inhabitants, who had now become weary of the war, of his arrival. They accordingly hastened thither at the head of a small body of infantry and cavalry, and having secured all the avenues, suddenly entered the apartment, and seized on the person of one of the most powerful of the Vendéan chiefs, who in the course of two years had fought no less than one hundred and fifty actions, in more than a hundred of which he had proved victorious. He was executed at Angers a few day after, and died with an heroic constancy.

But Charette still eluded the vigilance and defied the menaces of his enemies; he even contrived, notwithstanding he was no longer able to appear at the head of a formidable army and raise a whole department in his defence, to sustain a petty warfare. His troops did not at this period exceed one thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry, but with these he acted constantly on the offensive, and after a defeat still found means to escape and carry on the war anew, by rallying the wreck of his troops at twenty or thirty miles distance from the field of battle. Knowing that some of the priests were in the pay of the government, he distrusted them all, and at length became so suspicious that he confided his secrets to a few female favourites alone, who are said to have encouraged a temper naturally sanguinary to fresh excesses.

He at times, however, pretended to negociate with the generals, and actually offered to accept of terms; but he refused the proposition of being exiled to Switzerland, or conveyed to Jersey, and disdainfully replied, that all the fleets and vessels of the republic were not sufficient to transport the brave royalists under his command.

Having at length retired into the recesses of the forests of Machecoul and Prinée, he wandered with a few fugitives along the margin of Grand Lieu, and seldom left his retreat but when instigated by his necessities. Three small moveable columns of cavalry, consisting of fifty troopers each, were sent thither in pursuit of him; and as it was well known that he possessed about six thousand louis-d'ors in gold, this booty was promised as a reward to whoever should seize on his person. The pursuit at length became so hot that his mistress was seized, and a trunk containing his correspondence fell about the same time into the hands of his enemies. Soon after this, Moelle, one of his generals of division, was killed; and Caillau, another, wounded and taken prisoner after a disastrous skirmish, at the end of which the commander in chief of the insurgents escaped with great difficulty at the head of forty horsemen. Robrie and Guerin, two inferior chiefs, on this laid down their arms, and surrendered themselves and followers.

But as the Vendéan war could never be considered as finish-

ed while Charette survived, he was incessantly pursued by the cavalry of Hoche, and at length the adjutant-general of his army came up with him at Chabottier in Poitou. Although harassed with unceasing fatigue, and wounded both in the head and hand, he had still strength sufficient to escape into a wood, supported by two of his faithful followers, who determined to share his fate, and actually fell dead in succession at his feet, covered with wounds. On this Travot ran up, seized the chief, and conducted him to Nantes, where but a few months before he had made a triumphal entry, mounted upon a superb courser, surrounded by the officers of his staff, and accompanied by republican generals as well as the representatives on mission in the western departments. He now appeared dressed in a short green vest and pantaloons, disfigured by blood, with his arm in a scarf, and his countenance pale, sickly, and dejected. He however beheld the preparations for his execution with an undaunted eye, not only surveyed the soldiers who were drawn up for that purpose without shrinking, but even refused to have a bandage tied across his face, and actually gave the signal for his own death.

On the fall of their chief all the insurgent departments readily submitted; and Hoche, who at Weissembourg, at Landau, and at Quiberon, had already acquired celebrity as a warrior, was now hailed with the still more glorious appellation of Pacificator of La Vendée.

## CHAP. XII.

### *Expedition to the West Indies.*

UNDISMAYED by the conquests of the French in Europe, the English persevered in their intentions to capture all their remaining colonies, as well as those of their allies between the tropics; and they were now enabled, by the prosperous situa-

tion of their navy, to experience a success in that quarter unknown during any former war.

THE mortality that had occurred among the British troops in the West Indies, added to the alarming accounts of the exploits and intrigues of Victor Hughes, rendered a new army absolutely necessary in that quarter. The ministry had accordingly prepared a formidable expedition during the course of the summer and autumn of the preceding year, but a considerable interval elapsed before it reached the place of its destination. Much to the credit of the government, the most judicious regulations that could be framed by military and medical men were adopted, for the care of the land forces while confined to transports; and neither pains nor expence were spared to furnish the soldiery with every comfort on their arrival in a climate where a malady not entirely new to the West Indies, but hitherto unexampled in respect to its pestilential violence, committed the most terrible ravages particularly among the English troops*.

AT length, early in the present year, the fleet arrived at the island of Barbadoes; soon after which, lieutenant-general sir R. Abercromby determined to commence operations. Accordingly, on application to the admiral on that station, a naval force was procured for an expedition against the Dutch settlements. This consisted of the Malabar, La Pique, and Babet frigates, under captain Parr; on board of which the Grenada transport, and some small vessels, major-general Whyte embarked with the 39th, 93d, and 99th regiments, accompanied by a detachment of artillery. This small squadron, having arrived on the coast of Demerary, after a passage of seven days, governor Beaujon and the council were summoned to surrender the colony. As that rich settlement

* The author has been recently assured by an officer of rank, who commanded for a short time in the important post of Fort Bourbon, that during the court-martial which sat on Sir C. Gorton, it was found extremely difficult to relieve a subaltern's guard.

It will be seen from the following authentic document, that in the course of three years, no less than 54,212 troops were detached to the colonies, and it cannot be recollected without extreme pain, that nearly all of them perished there:

did not possess the means of an obstinate defence, a capitulation was immediately agreed to, and the British troops took possession of Fort William-Frederick. After leaving lieutenant-colonel Hislop and a small garrison behind, major-general Whyte proceeded to the little colony of Berbice, which experienced a similar fate.

In the course of the same day on which Demerary and Issequibo had surrendered to Great Britain, the troops destined for the attack of St. Lucia sailed from Carlisle bay, and anchored next morning at Martinico, under the protection of a squadron commanded by admiral sir John Laforey. That officer having resigned his command to rear-admiral sir Hugh Christian, the expedition sailed for the place of its destination; and major-general Campbell, with a body of seventeen hundred men, effected a landing at Longueville's bay, with little or no opposition, except what was experienced by a few shot from Pigeon island, which was kept in check by a de-

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RETURNS of the number of men detached from Europe and the continent of America to the West Indies, between the 1st of January, 1793, and the 1st of April, 1796.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1793. | — from America - - - | 950 Rank and File. |
| | Nov. 26, with sir Charles Grey, including 400 Artillery - - | 6,118 |
| 1794. | March 22d - - - | 2,377 |
| | April 1st - - - | 240 |
| | — 28th - - - | 80 |
| | October - - - | 100 |
| | — from Gibraltar - - | 2,219 |
| 1795. | February 15th, including 450 Artillery | 5,534 |
| | March 18th, from Gibraltar - | 964 |
| | April 10th - - - | 598 |
| | May 24th - - - | 2,319 |
| | August 4th - - - | 1,895 |
| | Dec. 9th, including 97 Artillery | 7,942 |
| | — 29th, from Gibraltar, including 100 Artillery - - - | 2,485 |
| 1796. | February 10th, including 29 Artillery | 2,956 |
| | — 26th, including 206 Artillery | 4,731 |
| | — 28th, including 500 Artillery | 6,470 |
| | March 20th, including 226 Artillery | 6,234 |
| | | 54,212 |

tachment of men-of war. Having advanced next morning to Choc bay, the centre division of the army disembarked near the village of the same name, upon which about five hundred of the enemy, stationed at Angier's plantation, retired to Morne Chabot, one of the strongest posts in the neighbourhood of Morne Fortune.

It being deemed absolutely necessary to occupy the former, before the latter was invested, the brigadiers-general Moore and Hope were accordingly detached that very evening to attack it on two opposite sides. As the troops* took different roads, the complete success of the expedition depended greatly on their arrival at the same time; but, in consequence of some miscalculation arising from the misinformation of the guides, general Moore's division fell in with the enemy's advanced picquet an hour and a half earlier than was expected: on this, finding that he was discovered, it was immediately determined to risk the attack, without waiting for the approach of the other column; and notwithstanding the strength of the post, and the small number of the assailants, such was the gallantry of the detachment, that the place was immediately carried.

In the course of next day, the same officer occupied Morne Duchassaux, in the rear of Morne Fortune: a body of three hundred seamen was also landed under captain Lane of the Astrée, and captain Ryves of the Bull-dog; while major-general Morshead, after obtaining possession of the bar of the Grand Cul de Sac, assumed a suitable position on the south side.

As the commander in chief, in conformity to the original plan for the investment of Morne Fortune, was determined to drive the enemy from their batteries on the base of the mountain, on the side of the Grand Cul de Sac, so as to open the bay to the ships of war, a movement was now made

* These consisting of seven companies of the 53d regiment, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Abercromby, one hundred of Malcom's, and fifty of Lewinstein's Rangers, under general Moore, took a circuitous road; while general Hope, with three hundred and fifty men of the 57th, one hundred and fifty of Malcom's and fifty of Lewinstein's, marched by a nearer route.

for that purpose. Brigadier-general Hope accordingly carried the battery called Seche, within a short distance of the principal works, with a loss by no means proportionate to the importance of the service, had it not been for the death of lieutenant-colonel Malcolm, who unfortunately received a mortal wound after the success was complete. In the mean time, colonel Riddle, with a column acting on the left, also seized on, and for some time retained possession of the lower battery, called Chapuis ; but another column, under an officer who commanded during the absence of major-general Morshead, having omitted to cross the river at Cools, the two successful divisions were obliged to retire to their former position, while the ships of war*, destined to enter the harbour, returned to their anchorage.

Partly from the intricate nature of the country, and partly from the difficulty of approaching the Morne on any side except by that of the ridge of Duchassaux, the commander in chief was obliged to employ several bodies of soldiers and sailors to form a road capable of admitting the transport of artillery from Choc bay. As soon as this arduous undertaking had been achieved, batteries of eighteen-pounders were opened, and a second and third parallel compleated, but a night attack on the Vigie proved unsuccessful; a lodgment however was soon after made by the 27th regiment, within five hundred yards of the fort, and a sally from the works was at the same time repulsed by brigadier-general Moore.

The enemy sent out a flag of truce in the course of that evening, and a suspension of arms being demanded and obtained, this was followed by a capitulation on the part of the agent of the Executive Directory, for the

* The Madras, Pelican, and Victorieuse. Captains Wolley and Dilkes landed soon after, with a detachment of seamen, to assist in establishing batteries on the southern side of the Grand Cul de Sac, and the latter, with great labour and perseverance, succeeded in placing two eighteen pounders and two carronades on the pinnacle of the hill. It ought not to be omitted that three hundred and twenty marines were also sent ashore, and that the conduct of this corps in the course of this siege, as well as during the whole war, was exemplary.

whole island and its dependencies. The troops, consisting of about two thousand men, were accordingly made prisoners of war, the armed negroes disarmed, and the whole settlement put under the protection of Great Britain.

No sooner had this great object been attained, than the most prompt and efficacious measures were recurred to for the security of such of the English colonies as had been invaded by the enemy. As Dominica, by the gallantry of its own militia, had defeated the French, and subdued the rebellion of such of the planters of that nation as declared in their favour, preparations were now made to repress the spirit of revolt in other islands, where it had proved more successful. Two separate expeditions for this purpose were concerted and prepared by General Abercromby and major-general Nicolls, at the same time. That destined for St. Vincent's having sailed for Kingston bay, and disembarked soon after, the troops marched in one column as far as Stubbs, all the divisions being ordered to halt in the evening, opposite to their respective points of attack; next morning, the enemy's flank was turned, and two twelve and two six pounders, with a couple of howitzers, were advanced within six hundred yards of their works.

On this, Major-general Morshead proposed to carry the redoubt by assault, but the offer was declined until major-general Hunter's division, and some other troops on the right, availing themselves of the profile of the hill, had effected a lodgment within a short distance of the fort; the attack commenced soon after, and the enemy retiring in succession from their first, second, and third redoubts, rallied around the New Vigie, which was their principal post. No sooner had this been effected, than the Caribbs, and about two hundred of the islanders, who had joined the insurgents, made their escape into the woods: but brigadier-general Knox, and lieutenant-colonel Dickens, having soon after cut off all communication with the country, the French, to the amount of about seven hundred, were obliged to capitulate, and peace was restored to the settlement.

The armament against Grenada proved equally successful. A body of troops disembarked at Palmiste near

Goyave, where the enemy had their principal posts, while brigader-general Campbell advanced in an opposite direction from the windward side of the island to attack the enemy's rear. The necessary preparations were immediately made for the assault of two strong positions on Morne Quaquo, and Foret Noire, or Aches-camp, while a small detachment of three companies of the colonial black troops, and the grenadiers of the 38th regiment, proceeded against a fortified station at the head of Beausejour valley. In consequence of these spirited and judicious movements, the troops were completely successful, and nearly at the same hour obtained possession of every post occupied by the enemy in the island. On this captain Jossey, who commanded the republican forces, surrendered; but Fedon escaped into the woods, after he and his followers had seized on about thirty whites, and put them to death in the most cruel and barbarous manner.

But notwithstanding this unbroken series of success, general Abercromby declined to attack the strong hold of the French in the West Indies, and the policy of that forbearance is obvious. In those colonies where liberty had been granted as a boon, such as at Cayenne and Guadaloupe, the negroes, numerous, determined, and indefatigable, were prepared to fight for their franchises with all the vigor of freemen*; while in the settlements where they had extorted it as a right, they were jealous of their former masters, and more eager to sacrifice them to their fury, than to repress the progress of a foreign invasion.

In the mean time the war was carried on with various success in the island of St. Domingo, the command of which had now devolved upon lieutenant-general Williamson. The extension of the British posts, along a chain of at least three hundred miles, in some measure obliged that officer to recur to a plan of very doubtful policy, by the establishment of Negro battalions commanded by the French royalists, De Source,

* Sir John Jervis (now lord St. Vincent) and sir C. Grey were both so conscious of this, that they declined an attack on Cayenne in 1794, the moment they learned that the negroes had been enfranchised.

Depyster, Degrass, La Serre, and the marquisses D'Alsun and Cocherel. Foreign regiments were also introduced, such as the British legion, and the Rohan and York hussars; bodies of colonial cavalry were levied at the same time, and horses were imported from America to remount three old regiments*. His successor, major-general Forbes, found himself under the necessity of taking a body of between eight and nine hundred inhabitants of the Spanish part of St. Domingo, into British pay; and it has been estimated upon good authority, that upwards of 2,000,000 *l.* sterling was expended annually during this period.

The mortality that prevailed among the English troops was at the same time dreadful. A body of about seven thousand men, which had arrived at the Mole in the spring, under the command of brigadier-general Howe, after a long and disastrous passage, became a prey to the diseases of the climate, and the unhealthiness of the station; in fine, such was the waste of blood and treasure, that the retention of any portion of the colony began to be considered as an odious measure by all parties in England.

The war too, in that opulent and extensive settlement, had assumed a new aspect. The negroes and men of colour, after obtaining their freedom and their franchises from the whites, whom they had overpowered, at present acted in concert; and Toussaint and his black followers on one hand, and Rigaud with his Mulatto adherents on the other, carried on a desultory but fierce war against the British posts.

The failure in an attempt to regain possession of Leogane from the republicans, inspired the enemy with new ardour; for soon after this they entertained the design of straitening, if not closely investing, the town of Port au Prince, by means of an insulated mountain in the neighbourhood of the English post of Morne Grenier, and also of opening a communication through the Cul de Sac, to the north side of the island. On the other hand, major-general Forbes, in the course of the summer, forced the garrison of Bombarde to surrender, and general Rigaud was nearly at the same time obliged to raise the siege of Irois.

* The 14th, 18th, and 21st.

## CHAP. XIII.

*Feeble attempt on the Part of the Dutch to resume Possession of the Cape of Good Hope—Capture of the remaining Settlements of Holland in the East.*

THE capture of the Cape of Good Hope in the course of last year produced a considerable sensation in Holland, and it was determined to attempt the re-conquest early in the present. A squadron*, composed of two sail of the line, one ship of fifty-four guns, one of forty-four, one of forty, and three armed vessels, was accordingly fitted out, under rear-admiral Lucas, who was also to command a small body of troops, which he carried along with him. Lieutenant-colonel Henri embarked with the rank of adjutant-general, and M. Grandecourt, a French officer, acted as commandant of the artillery, the whole of which appears to have consisted of only four field-pieces; but as many of the ships' guns were of brass, they might easily have been landed, and rendered fit for service. In addition to this force, a small fleet, under an able and enterprising commander, was promised on the part of France, whose interest it obviously was that this settlement should be restored to her ally.

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* List of the Dutch Squadron.

| *Ships names.* | *Commanders.* | *Guns.* | *Seamen and Troops.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dordrecht, - | Rear-admiral Lucas, | 66 | 370 |
| Revolution, - | Capt. Rhnebende, - | 66 | 400 |
| Admiral Tromp, | Capt. Valkenburg, - | 54 | 280 |
| Castor, - - | Capt. Clarisse, - | 44 | 240 |
| Braave, - - | Capt. Zoetmans, - | 40 | 234 |
| Bellona, - - | Capt. Valk, - - | 28 | 130 |
| Sirene, - - | Capt. De Cerf, - | 26 | 130 |
| Havik - - | Capt. Bezemer, - | 18 | 76 |
| Maria (store ship,) | - - - | | 112 |
| | Total, | 341 | 1972 |

The Dutch squadron sailed from the Texel in the spring; and as it was dangerous to pass through the English Channel, the admiral, instead of the direct, being determined on a circuitous, passage, shaped his course by the eastern coast of Scotland and the Orkneys. This circumstance not only rendered the voyage extremely tedious, and exposed the armament to storms and disease, which harassed and thinned the crews, but also produced a discovery of his design; for admiral Pringle being then cruising in the North Sea, with an inferior force, immediately returned to port, and communicated the intelligence to the Admiralty. It also happened, unluckily for the Dutch, that captain Charles Brisbane*, in the Moselle, descried the squadron some time after, and immediately altered his course on purpose to communicate the important intelligence to the commander in chief. Had admiral Lucas reached the Cape after a short voyage, he would have met with only a single ship of force on that station, as vice admiral Elphinstone was then in the East Indies, and several men-of-war arrived but a few days before himself†. But in consequence of his tardy movements, time was given for collecting a formidable fleet, which immediately proceeded on a cruise for the express purpose of intercepting him.

In the mean time general Craig received intelligence that nine ships had anchored in Saldanah bay. On this, no less than five different vessels were dispatched in quest of the English admiral; while the commander in chief, leaving major-general Doyle with about four thousand troops in the Cape town and neighbourhood, proceeded through a country never before explored by an army, and arrived in the neighbourhood of the enemy with his advanced guard, consisting of the light infantry, a body of Hottentots, and a few horse. As these troops were descending towards the shore, they perceived

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* This officer was made a post-captain, for his conduct on this occasion.

† The Tremendous of 74, Trident of 64, Jupiter of 50, &c.

the British fleet*, consisting of two seventy-fours, five sixty-fours, a fifty-gun ship, and six other vessels, which, after putting into False bay for intelligence, had sailed during a violent gale and was now advancing with a fair wind directly for the mouth of the harbour. At length, about sun-set, it appeared off the bay, and the Crescent, which had been ordered a-head for information, gave notice by signal that two sail of the line, three frigates, and other ships, were moored there. The English squadron soon afrer dropped anchor within cannon-shot, when the admiral, being fully aware of the enemy's inferiority, instead of commencing an immediate attack, transmitted a written summons to the Dutch commander, and on receiving a positive assurance that no damage should be done in the mean time to any of the vessels, hostilities were suspended until the morning. At the stipulated period an officer repaired on board the flag-ship, and rear admiral Engelbertus Lucas capitulated for the surrender of the armament, which was accordingly effected without firing a single gun. Two reasons have been assigned for the tame submission of this squadron, which, however, must be allowed to have been

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* List of the squadron under sir G. Keith Elphinstone, K. B.

| *Names.* | *Commanders.* | *Guns.* | *Men.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Monarch, | Vice-admiral sir G. Keith Elphinstone, Capt. John Elphinstone, | 74 | 612 |
| Tremendous, | Rear-admiral T. Pringle, Capt. J. Aylmer, | 74 | 590 |
| America, | Commodore John Blankett, | 64 | 491 |
| Stately, | Capt. Belly Douglas, | 64 | 491 |
| Ruby, | Capt. John Waller, | 64 | 491 |
| Sceptre, | Capt. W. Ephengton, | 64 | 491 |
| Trident, | Capt. E. O. Osborne, | 64 | 491 |
| Jupiter, | Capt. George Lossack, | 50 | 343 |
| Crescent, | Capt. Edward Buller, | 36 | 264 |
| Sphynx, | Capt. Andrew Todd, | 24 | 155 |
| Moselle, | Capt. C. Brisbane, | 16 | 121 |
| Rattlesnake, | Capt. Edward Ramage, | 16 | 121 |
| Echo, | Capt. J. Turner, | 16 | 121 |

Hope sloop, Capt. Thomas Alexander.

greatly inferior in point of strength: in the first place, it has been asserted, that the Dutch mistook the English fleet for that of Richery, and did not discover their mistake until too late; while it is believed, on the other hand, that a great proportion of the crews and commanders were attached to the Orange interest, and therefore deemed resistance impolitic, if not unlawful*.

In the East Indies, the remaining settlements of Holland were captured at the beginning of the present year, without any difficulty. Admiral sir George Keith Elphinstone, having dispatched a small detachment of the king's, and eight of the East-India company's, ships and vessels, under captain A. H. Gardner, with a body of troops commanded by colonel James Stuart, the fort of Negombo immediately surrendered, and Colombo capitulated a few days after; in consequence of which, all the Dutch portion of Ceylon was put under the protection of the British government.

The valuable islands of Amboyna and Banda, with their several dependencies, were soon after taken by admiral Rainier, who found a considerable sum of money in the public treasury, and a large portion of cloves, nutmegs, and mace, in the magazines.

## CHAP. XIV.

*Naval Campaign of* 1796—*Seizure of Elba, and Evacuation of Corsica—Abortive Attempts on Ireland.*

NOTWITHSTANDING the superior strength and admirable disposition of the navy, yet, in the course of this year, the British trade received considerable damage from a young and enterprising commander. Although the Toulon fleet did not dare to put to sea, for fear of encountering the English,

* On his return to Holland, the vice-admiral was imprisoned at the Hague, and died during the course of his trial.

then cruising in the neighbourhood of Genoa, Richery found means to slip out with a small squadron* consisting of six sail of the line and three frigates. After having captured several prizes in the Straits, he retired to Cadiz, where he remained blocked up during some months, by a few ships under admiral Mann. Having at length escaped from that port, he immediately proceeded to the island of Newfoundland, where he carried on a predatory warfare against the property of individuals, and had the good fortune to return to Rochelle in safety with his acquisitions.

The commerce of Great Britain suffered still more severely in the Mediterranean, in consequence of the victories of Bonaparte; for Genoa, unable to preserve even the appearance of neutrality, was forced to shut her ports against the enemies of France; while in Leghorn, the property appertaining to the coalesced powers was seized upon by the consul of that nation. Luckily, however, all the vessels†, and most of the merchandise, appertaining to Great Britain, were removed; and as it was supposed that the governor had favoured the evasion, he was immediately arrested and transferred to Florence.

On this it was determined by the viceroy of Corsica to seize on some commodious station on the coast of Tuscany, as an arsenal for the English fleet; and the island of Elba being deemed proper for this purpose, a small squadron accordingly sailed from Bastia, with a body of troops under major Duncan. Commodore Nelson having joined the convoy, a landing was effected, and the Captain, of seventy-four guns, placed within half pistol-shot of the grand bastion. On this the governor consented to a capitulation, and the town of Porto Ferrajo, with one hundred pieces of cannon, was immediately surrendered.

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| | *Guns.* | | *Guns.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| * Le Victoire | 80 | Warwick | 74 |
| Jupiter | 74 | Duquesne | 74 |
| Barras | 74 | La Révolution | 74 |

And the following frigates: La Felicité, L'Embuscade, and La Friponne.

† These consisted of twenty-three sail of square-rigged vessels, and fourteen Tartans, which were carried out to sea by captain Freemantle of the Inconstant.

But soon after Great Britain had obtained the temporary sovereignty of this barren but useful rock, she lost one of the principal islands in the Mediterranean; the possession of which had conferred an unprofitable crown, worn in turn by Theodore and the doge of Genoa, on her king.

The viceroy, sir Gilbert Elliot, finding the Corsicans dazzled with the exploits of their countryman Bonaparte, disgusted with the English, and determined on a reunion with France, was reduced to the disagreeable necessity of evacuating the island. But this was not effected without considerable loss; for general Cazatte had landed with a detachment from Leghorn, and, being joined by the natives, immediately seized on the heights above Bastia, summoned the town, and captured several of the unhappy emigrants, who constituted part of the garrison. Fiorenzo was taken possession of next day; a small body of troops in Bonifacio was forced to surrender, and the tower of Mortella being also reduced by the republicans, the English fleet was obliged to remove from the adjoining bay, and leave considerable quantities of cannon, stores, and provisions, behind.

But the French failed, towards the latter end of this year, in an attempt to seize one of the most valuable possessions appertaining to the British empire. The directory, exasperated at beholding the wealth of England employed in subsidising their enemies abroad, and promoting insurrections at home, determined to retaliate on a country which, amidst a terrible and disastrous warfare, enjoyed greater commercial advantages than had been ever reaped by her before in the bosom of peace.

An armament was accordingly fitted out at Brest by vice-admiral Truguet, then minister of the marine, the command of which was to have been conferred on Villaret Joyeuse; but as that officer did not seem eager to engage in the adventure, vice-admiral Morard de Galles, who had formerly acted as captain to the Bailli de Suffrein in the East Indies, was entrusted with the direction of the fleet. Fifteen thousand chosen troops were embarked in it, for a descent upon Ireland; and Hoche, who had acquired such reputation by his exploits at Dunkirk and Quiberon, was nominated general in chief, a post which

he aspired to with no common degree of ardour, partly from his insatiable love of glory, and partly from his rooted hatred to the English name.

HAVING given out that the squadron was intended against Portugal, and actually procured manifestoes to be drawn up in that language, on purpose to conceal the object of his destination, he employed a native of Ireland* to compose and print proclamations, in which the latter endeavoured to captivate his countrymen, by the most seductive promises of national independence, and civil and religious freedom. But the principal dependance of the commander in chief was on the society of United Irishmen, whose military organisation was nearly complete, and whose strength, numbers, and local knowledge, when supported by an able commander and a veteran army, might have defied all the exertions of Great-Britain. He was intimately acquainted with all their machinations, expected to be joined by them the moment he should land, and in a late interview with two of the chiefs†, he had settled the mode, and even fixed upon the place, of invasion. Every thing being prepared, the admiral sailed from Brest, with a fleet consisting of eighteen sail of the line, thirteen frigates and a considerable number of transports; while the general embarked on board a frigate called La Fraternité. The wind was at first favourable, but scarcely had the expedition left the outer harbour when a storm took place, in the course of which most of the vessels were separated, and many of them entirely dismantled. Hoche, who had lost sight of the flag ship, after being exposed to the double danger of the sea, in which his vessel was in hourly jeopardy of being ingulphed, and the enemy, by two of whose cruisers he had been for some time pursued, arrived at the end of a month with great difficulty at Rochelle, by the assistance of the captain of the Revolution, who also took on board the crew of the Scævola, which foundered.

IN the mean time, rear-admiral Bouvet, who commanded

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* M. Shee.

† Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Mr. O'Connor.

the second division, had reached the coast of Ireland, and appeared off Bantry bay, with eight two-deckers. After remaining there during three days without any attempt to land, he was forced to leave that station during a gale of wind: part of his squadron however returned soon after, while some large vessels hovered near the mouth of the Shannon; but they again disappeared, and sailed for France, having lost no less than three ships of the line and three frigates during this disastrous expedition. They were peculiarly lucky, however, in escaping from the English fleet under lord Bridport, which arrived on the coast soon after their departure, as well as from the squadron commanded by admiral Colpoys, which had been stationed off Brest on purpose to intercept them.

Thus the daring project of invading Ireland was happily frustrated by a storm; and such appeared to be the steady patriotism of all ranks at this period, that few or none of the peasantry seemed disposed to have joined the enemy had they effected a landing. The yeomanry and volunteer corps, in particular, displayed a degree of zeal bordering on enthusiasm; noblemen and gentlemen of the first consequence in their respective counties vied with each other in their exertions; and landed proprietors, who possessed two or three hundred a-year, cheerfully undertook to escort baggage and carry expresses; while the titular bishop of Cork* made an advantageous impression upon the minds of the inferior order of Catholics by a judicious and well-timed address. But the truth is, that this appearance of loyalty was in some measure hollow and delusive; for had a body of French troops appeared among them, there can be but little doubt that the agitators would have prevailed upon the multitude to join, and rendered the fate of Ireland precarious.

During the course of this year the remaining commerce of France was harassed and diminished by the indefatigable exertions of the British cruisers. Sir John Borlase Warren, with only four frigates, gallantly attacked a squadron of seven sail of French vessels, three of which were ships of consider-

* Dr. Moylan.

able force*, not far from the Saintes, and, after dispersing their convoy, captured the Etoile, of thirty guns.

In the Mediterranean, captain Nelson, on board of the Agamemnon, accompanied by the Meleager, Diadem, and Peterell, performed a brilliant exploit at Loana, having boarded and cut out four French store-ships by means of the boats of his squadron, under the fire of the batteries, and amidst an incessant discharge of musquetry. This indefatigable officer also took possession, in the same manner, of several vessels laden with cannon and ordnance stores, destined for the siege of Mantua, in the neighbourhood of Oneglia, fearlessly boarding the enemy amidst the fire of three eighteen-pounders stationed on shore, and a fourth mounted in a gun-boat. The same commander, assisted by captain Craufurd in the Blanche, soon after fought two stout Spanish frigates, captured the Sabina of forty guns, and would have carried both her and her consort into port had they not been prevented by a superior squadron of the enemy.

Towards the autumn, admiral Duncan blockaded the Texel, to prevent the sailing of the Dutch fleet, and captured a frigate and a sloop of war belonging to that nation. Captain Williams, of the Unicorn of thirty-two guns, and captain Martin of the Santa Margarite, a ship of equal force, pursued and took two heavy frigates of forty and thirty-six guns, called the Thames and Tribune: the Dryad of thirty-six guns, also obtained possession of the Proserpine of thirty, twenty-six of which were eighteen-pounders, after a chace of eight hours and a gallant action of forty-five minutes.

Captain Bowen, of the Terpsichore†, also distinguished himself by the capture of the Mahonesa, a Spanish frigate of superior force, near Gibraltar: he soon after forced the Vestale, a French ship, which carried the same number of guns

* The English frigates were the Pomona, Artois, Galatea, and Anson: the French ships consisted of one of forty-four, two of forty, one of thirty-two, and one of thirty, guns, with two armed vessels.

† The Terpsichore carried thirty-two guns, and the Mahonesa thirty-four.

as his own, to strike; she, however, escaped next morning into Cadiz, under jury-masts, and was reclaimed in vain.

But one of the most gallant actions during the whole war was fought by captain Trollope, in the Glatton of fifty-four guns; she was formerly an Indiaman, and now carried carronades of a large calibre. Having fallen in with six frigates, accompanied by a brig and a cutter, off Helvoet, this brave commander, undismayed either by the number or the force of the enemy, bore down upon and came up with them late in the evening; and, notwithstanding he was surrounded in such a manner as to be attacked at the same time on the lee-quarter, the weather-bow, and the stern, so incessant and severe was the fire of his battery, that the adversaries deemed it prudent to desist and retire.

Amidst these successes, the navy of Great Britain did not lose a single ship of any force; while, on the contrary, upwards of seventy sail of armed vessels belonging to the enemy were either detained or captured during the course of this year, among which were five line-of-battle ships, nine of forty-four guns, and three of forty.

But, notwithstanding her repeated misfortunes on the ocean, and the terrors of a perpetual bankruptcy in her capital, France still continued to maintain the war with undiminished ardour on the continent, and that too at the expence of her enemies. By the victories of Bonaparte in Italy, and the defeat and execution of the principal chiefs of the insurgents, the government had acquired such a degree of stability in the course of this year, that the idea of overcoming the republic, either by means of a civil or a foreign war, was become hopeless. The English ministry were now so sensible of this, that they at length condescended to enter into a negociation, a step long since pressed by their political opponents in the house of commons, but which they had hitherto rejected with the most sovereign contempt.

They accordingly made two unsuccessful attempts during the spring and winter; the first by means of Mr. Wickham, ambassador to the Helvetic states, and the next through the medium of lord Malmsbury, who repaired to Paris expressly for that purpose; but as he refused to consent to the union of

Belgium to France, it was at length intimated to him, "that the executive directory would listen to no proposals contrary to the constitution, the laws, and the treaties which bind the republic;" his lordship was at the same time given to understand that he must quit the capital in eight-and-forty hours, and leave any further propositions about peace to the ordinary channel of couriers.

# BOOK II.

## CHAP. I.

*Campaign of 1797 in Italy—Peace of Tolentino—Preliminary Articles of the Treaty of Leoben.*

THE splendid campaign of the former year had fixed the attention of all Europe upon Bonaparte, and it now seemed probable that a contest which had originated about the civil and political rights of France would be decided on the distant plains of Lombardy. Notwithstanding the unfortunate result of the invasion of Germany, by Jourdan and Moreau, had deprived the army of Italy of all hopes of co-operation; yet the resumption of the blockade of Mantua, and the signal victory of Arcole, once more acquired for it a decided preponderance, and it was by this time evident that all the dominions of the house of Austria in that quarter were in jeopardy.

THE court of Vienna was therefore indefatigable in its exertions to renew the contest with increased vigour, under the same commander; for notwithstanding Alvinzi had been beaten, he was not disgraced. On the contrary, a liberal allowance was made for the difficulty of his situation; and as but few veteran troops could be spared, he was furnished with a numerous levy from the hereditary states. Accordingly, at the commencement of the year, that general found himself again enabled to take the field, at the head of fifty thousand combatants and a formidable train of artillery, by means of which he did not despair of being enabled to chase the republicans beyond the Alps.

THE French, trusting to the strength of their position, and acting entirely on the defensive, soon found their barriers pierced, and their lines penetrated by the Imperialists; for the Austrian commander, suddenly passing the Brenta, storm-

ed the town of Corona, which had been fortified with great care, and obliged a body of troops, under the command of Joubert, to fall back upon Rivoli. On this, Bonaparte, who had instantly repaired to Verona, found his centre attacked, with great fury, by general Davidowich. Perceiving that it was intended to raise the blockade of Mantua, by a rapid march through Castello Nuovo and Vallegio he immediately repaired to the heights of San Marco, and made such judicious dispositions, that Alvinzi, who expected an easy conquest, soon found himself surprised and defeated.

In the mean time, the village of San Martino was repeatedly seized and retaken by both armies, and the event of the action still remained doubtful, when general Joubert, whose horse had been killed under him, rallying some battalions of infantry, which had given way, overtook the Austrians in the neighbourhood of Rivoli; while Berthier, making a charge with the cavalry, obliged them to retreat with precipitation to the heights of Cortona.

After this, four thousand troops, which had been posted between the Adige and the lake of Garda, to cut off the retreat of the French towards Verona and Peschiera, were constrained to lay down their arms; but notwithstanding these fortunate events, general Provera, who had advanced with the left wing of the Austrians, found means to pierce the division commanded by Augereau, and, having crossed the Adige at Anguiari, forced general Guieux to retreat. He then advanced towards Mantua, and, although pursued by Augereau, summoned general Miolis, who commanded the army that invested it, to surrender. Receiving no other answer than what was returned by the cannon of the French batteries, and finding it impossible to raise the blockade, he made an ineffectual attack, during the same night, on the post called the Favourita, in which he was assisted by a sally on the part of field-marshal Wurmser; but the garrison being obliged to retire, and Provera finding it impossible to enter the city, he and his troops immediately agreed to surrender*.

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* Message of the Executive Directory to the Councils of

While one wing of Alvinzi's army was thus obliged to capitulate, the general himself fled with the greatest precipitation, and was pursued by Massena and Joubert; who, after overtaking and beating him at Carpenedolo and Ariso, seized on Bassano and Trent, obtained possession of all his artillery, and obliged this commander, who had so lately commenced the campaign with a brilliant achievement, to fly across the mountains, at the head of a few fugitives.

The battle of Rivoli, which may be said to have lasted eight days, as the combat actually continued during the whole of that period, decided the fate of Mantua. The gallant, but unfortunate Wurmser, had made frequent sallies, with various success; and if he did not always overcome, never failed to acquire the admiration even of the enemy. But at length, this siege, which is said to have cost the French twenty-two and the house of Austria, no less than twenty-four thousand men, was terminated by famine and disease, rather than the sword; for on the surrender of this important fortress, the hospitals were found crowded with sick, while the horses of the troopers had been wholly devoured by such of the garrison as survived the numerous conflicts without the walls.

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Ancients and of Five Hundred, on the 6th Pluvoise (Jan. 25,) on the victories in Italy.

"Citizens Representatives,

"The Executive Directory hastens to inform you of the prodigious successes which have been just gained by the brave army of Italy. The following is the result of the series of actions which have taken place between the 23d Nivose to the 26th, both inclusive, occasioned by the new attempts which the enemy have made to relieve Mantua.

"Twenty-three thousand Austrians taken prisoners, among whom are three generals, and all the battalions of the Vienna volunteers; six thousand of the enemy killed or wounded; sixty pieces of cannon, and twenty-four stands of colours, taken.

"All the enemy's baggage seized, with a regiment of hussars, and the whole of the convoy of grain and oxen, which the enemy wanted to throw into Mantua.

"After this happy news, we have reason to think that the capture of this important fortress will conclude the labours of the invincible army of Italy and its intrepid general.

(Signed) "P. Barras, President.
"Lagarde, Secretary."

A FEW days after this event had taken place, Bonaparte published an address* to the soldiery, in which he stated that they "had proved victorious in fourteen pitched battles, and in seventy engagements; that they had taken from the enemy

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* "PROCLAMATION. Bonaparte, general in chief of the army of Italy, to the soldiers of the army of Italy.

"*Head-quarters at Bassano*, 20 *Ventose*, *5th Year.*

"The capture of Mantua has almost given the finishing stroke to a campaign which has entitled you to the eternal gratitude of your country.

"You have proved victorious in fourteen pitched battles, and in seventy engagements. You have taken more than a hundred thousand prisoners. You have also obtained from the enemy five hundred field-pieces and two thousand large cannon.

"The contributions levied on the countries you have conquered have supported, maintained, and paid the army during the whole campaign. You have, moreover, sent thirty millions to the minister of finance, for the increase of the public treasure.

"You have enriched the Museum of Paris with above three hundred subjects, master-pieces of ancient and modern Italy, the production of which has been the labour of thirty ages. You have conquered for the republic the finest countries of Europe. The republics of Lombardy and Cispadana are indebted to you for their liberty. The colours of France, for the first time, wave on the Adriatic shores, opposite, and within twenty-four hours sail of, ancient Macedonia. The kings of Sardinia and Naples, the Pope, and the duke of Parma, are detached from the coalition of our enemies, and are leagued in friendship with us. You have chased the English from Leghorn, Genoa, and Corsica; but you have not yet finished your career. A more splendid achievement is in reserve for you: in you the country places its dearest hopes; continue to deserve its confidence.

"Among all the enemies who coalesced to stifle the republic in its birth, the Emperor alone is opposed to us. This prince, degrading himself from the rank of a great potentate, is in the pay of the merchants of London. He is actuated by no other policy, has no other will, than that of the perfidious islanders, who, themselves strangers to the horrors of war, smile with pleasure at the miseries of the continent.

"The Executive Directory has spared no endeavours to give peace to Europe: the moderation of its proposals was not dictated by the strength of its armies; it did not consult your courage, but followed the impulse of humanity, and a desire to behold you in the bosoms of your families: its voice has not

more than one hundred thousand prisoners, five hundred field-pieces, and two thousand large cannon." He added, "that the contributions raised in the countries conquered by them had supported, maintained, and paid the army, during the whole campaign; while thirty millions of livres had been sent to the minister of finance, for the increase of the public treasure." After glancing at their achievements against the kings and princes of Italy, he declares it to be his intention to carry the war into the hereditary states of Austria, and desires them to recollect "that it is liberty they are about to present to the Hungarians."

The capitulation granted on the reduction of this city did equal honour to the conquerors and the conquered; for the veteran governor was treated with particular distinction, and not only his own person, and five hundred men, selected by himself, were exempt from the common lot of prisoners, but, what was peculiarly grateful to a warrior, he was permitted to retire with four cannon, and an equal number of covered waggons. Nor ought it to be omitted, that his reception at Vienna was gracious, and that the command of

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been heard at Vienna, and there is no other hope for peace, but by seeking it in the heart of the hereditary states of the house of Austria. You will there find a brave race oppressed by the wars against the Turks, and by the present war. The inhabitants of Vienna and the states of Austria groan under a superstitious and arbitrary government. There is no one who doubts that the ministers of the Emperor have been corrupted by the gold of the English. You will respect their religion, their customs, their property—remember it is *liberty* you are carrying to the brave Hungarians.

"The house of Austria, which for three ages has been diminishing its power by wars, has excited the discontents of the people, by depriving them of their privileges; it will find itself reduced, at the end of the sixth campaign (since it forces us to commence it,) to accept such a peace as we shall be pleased to grant; and will descend in reality to the rank of a secondary power, in which it has already placed itself by submitting to be in the pay and at the disposal of England.

(Signed) "Bonaparte."

Hungary, and a pension of fourteen thousand florins, solaced the short remainder of his life, and afforded some little consolation amidst private and public misfortunes.

In the mean time, the papal see, which had relied with the most implicit confidence on the success of the Austrians, was menaced with sudden ruin; for Bonaparte, on the day preceding the capture of Mantua, had published a proclamation, in which, after reproaching the holy father with subterfuge and perfidy, he declared the armistice to be at an end, recalled the French minister from Rome, and threatened all those who opposed the progress of the republican columns with the most exemplary vengeance. The offers of security and protection were, however, held out to the peasantry, and even the priesthood was invited to persevere in its pious labours; but it was intimated to the latter, that it must act in strict conformity with the precepts of the Gospel, and not intermeddle in secular affairs.

These denunciations were not uttered in vain; for general Victor, in the course of the very next day, entered the town of Imola, and beheld the pontifical army entrenched along the banks of the Setrio, with the left wing at Caffiano, the centre at Faenza, and the right at Lugo. At six o'clock in the succeeding morning his advanced guard arrived in presence of the enemy, who were defended by numerous redoubts, and a formidable train of artillery; but their chief reliance was placed in the sacred promises of the sovereign pontiff. Having been solemnly assured by Pius VI. that they should receive the assistance of Peter and Paul, they at first exhibited some slight symptoms of resistance; but no sooner had a body of French crossed the river, which, notwithstanding the certainty of miraculous interposition, happened to be fordable, than they began to be dubious of apostolic help, and betook themselves to an immediate flight, notwithstanding the remonstrances of general Colli, who had condescended to command troops whom it was impossible to discipline, and vain to rely on.

The invaders, smiling with contempt at such feeble adversaries, immediately marched against Faenza, and finding that the fugitives had shut the gates, that the alarm-bell was

rung, and that a furious multitude appeared ready to defend the ramparts, they immediately assaulted the city, and ascended its walls by means of scaling ladders.

The papal army, scarcely broken, but not undismayed, immediately abandoned the fertile plains of Romagna, and took refuge on the summits of the Appenines, towards the sources of the Arno and the Tiber; the towns of Cesena, Forli, and Ravenna, on this submitted in succession. The whole march of Ancona also acknowledged the triumph of the three-coloured ensign, which was now displayed from the top of the holy chapel of Loretto; while the votive offerings of kings, popes, and emperors, became the prey of an unbelieving soldiery.

Having thus subdued all the ecclesiastical provinces situated between the Adriatic sea and the Appenines, several French columns were detached into the mountains, in pursuit of the pontifical troops; and in the course of a few days Macerata, a town within forty leagues of Rome, had become the head-quarters of the republican army. In the mean time the most alarming commotions prevailed in that capital; and when the French general arrived at Tolentino, and began to establish a republican form of government, his holiness, terrified lest he should march thither, at length determined to negociate. He accordingly dispatched four plenipotentiaries, consisting of two ecclesiastics and two laymen*, with a letter † written with his own hand, in which he styled Bonaparte

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* Cardinal Mathei, monsignor Galeppi, the duke Louis Braschi, his nephew, and the marquis Camille Massinio.

† "Pope Pius VI.

"Dear son, health and apostolic benediction.

"Desiring to terminate amicably our differences with the French republic, by the retreat of the troops which you command, we send and depute to you, as our plenipotentiaries, two ecclesiastics, the cardinal Mathei, who is perfectly known to you, and M. Galeppi; and two seculars, the duke Don Louis Braschi, our nephew, and the marquis Camillo Massinio, who are invested with our full powers, to concert, promise, and subscribe, such conditions as we hope will be just and reasonable, obliging ourselves under our faith and word, to approve and ratify them in special form, in order that they may be va-

his "dear son," and presented him "with the paternal apostolic benediction;" promising, at the same time, to subscribe to any reasonable conditions he might be inclined to impose. Notwithstanding the affectation of a republican stoicism, the victorious Corsican was doubtless flattered by the compliments of a venerable pontiff, whom he had been taught to consider as the head of that religion in the tenets of which he was educated. But he does not appear to have been as yet unmindful of his own situation; for although he had lately acquired additional popularity, by offering to extend the do-

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lid and inviolable in all future time. Assured of the sentiments of good-will which you have manifested, we have abstained from removing any thing from Rome, by which you will be persuaded of the entire confidence which we repose in you. We conclude by assuring you of our most perfect esteem, and presenting you with the paternal apostolic benediction.

"Pius, P. P. VI."

"Given at St. Peter's, in Rome, the 12th February, 1797, "the 22d year of our pontificate."

"Bonaparte, general in chief of the army of Italy, "to his holiness the Pope.

"*Head-quarters at Tolentino, 1 Ventose, 5th year.*

"Most holy father,

"I ought to thank your holiness for the obliging things contained in the letter which you have taken the trouble to write to me.

"The peace between the French republic and your holiness is just signed: I felicitate myself in being able to contribute to your personal safety.

"I intreat your holiness to guard against the persons now at Rome, who are sold to the courts, the enemies of peace, or who suffer themselves to be guided exclusively by the passion of hatred, which the loss of territory naturally engenders.

"Europe knows the pacific inclinations, and the virtue of your holiness. The French republic will be one of the truest friends of Rome.

"I send my aid-de-camp, chief of brigade, to express to your holiness the perfect esteem and veneration which I have for your person, and to entreat you to confide in the desire which I have to give you, on every occasion, the respect and veneration with which I have the honour to be,

"Your most obedient servant,

"Bonaparte."

minions of the little commonwealth of Santo Marino, yet notwithstanding the mutual compliments that passed upon this occasion, the conditions exacted from Pius VI. were by no means calculated to give satisfaction to the court of Rome. His holiness was now obliged to renounce all claim to Avignon and the Venaissin, to relinquish the three legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna; to furnish the statues, pictures, and treasure, stipulated in the former convention; and to pay the sum of fifteen millions of livres towards the expences of the war.

This treaty, while it, on one hand, prevented the see of Rome from experiencing a total subjugation, was, on the other, eminently advantageous to the invaders, as it afforded them an opportunity of opposing a new host of enemies, who were on their march from the banks of the Danube. The recent and brilliant successes of the archduke Charles against the conqueror of Fleurus had impressed all Germany with the most favourable opinion of his genius and valour; and the court of Vienna already imagined that this young hero was destined to restore their wonted superiority to the Imperial arms in Lombardy. His highness was nearly of the same age as the French general; both of them testified a similar passion for glory, and an equal contempt of danger; but the former had to combat against troops accustomed to vanquish, while the latter, after overcoming so many Austrian armies, seemed to be fated to realise the fable of Hercules contending with the Lernæan hydra. It was not without great difficulty, however, that Francis II. was enabled to raise new battalions; for the Hungarian levies had nearly all perished in the plains of Italy, and a large portion of the youth of Vienna had either been taken prisoners, or cut off by the sword of the enemy. In addition to this, the treaty of Tolentino had bereaved the Imperial house of one of its firmest allies, and none of the neighbouring princes appeared very eager to engage in a contest which might terminate in their ruin. A great and last effort was however made, and to a considerable body of recruits were added several divisions of that victorious army, at the head of which the arch-duke had combated during the preceding year in Suabia and Fran-

çonia. Such formidable preparations determined the directory to send a number of the battalions cantoned on the frontiers of the Rhine into Italy, under the command of general Bernadotte; these troops were accordingly destined to encounter, at the foot of the Noric Alps, the very same warriors with whom they had before fought in the midst of the Black Forest, and on the banks of the Nab.

The Austrians, on their arrival, were formed into an army as before, between the Tagliamento and the Piava; while the French, who occupied the right bank of the latter river and the left border of the Arisio, were prepared to oppose their progress. A number of petty skirmishes had already taken place between the advanced posts of the Imperialists and the generals Murat, Baillard, and Kellermann, when Bonaparte, who, in consequence of one of the singular caprices of fortune, had just experienced the most sincere marks of gratitude on the part of the primitive republicans of Santo Marino, and the flattering, but very equivocal, benedictions of the Roman pontiff, prepared to engage in a combat worthy of his reputation.

Having accordingly reassumed the command of the army, he assembled his hitherto victorious columns on the left of the Brenta, and commenced the operations of the campaign. Three grand movements were now ordered to take place, in consequence of which general Massena, advanced to Feltri, while general Serrurier crossed the Piava in front of the village of Vidore, and general Guieux, who commanded the right wing, proceeded as far as Sacile along the great road from Vicenza, to Palmà la Nuova. The enemy, already obliged to act on the defensive, retired at their approach; having crossed the Tagliamento, and cut down the bridges behind them, they threw up entrenchments which extended from the passes of the mountains to the neighbourhood of Belgrado, and prepared to dispute the passage of that river.

While Massena, with his division, was employed in the pursuit of one part of the Imperial forces amidst the fastnesses which separate the dominions of Venice from the Tyrole; the left of the French army, under Joubert, Delmas, and

Barraguay-D'Hilliers, was ordered to penetrate along the Adige into Carinthia, and thus create a diversion in favour of the main body

In the mean time, the commander in chief appeared on the banks of the Tagliamento, the deep and impetuous current of which would, at any other period, have presented a most formidable barrier; but the diminished stream could then be easily forded, in consequence of the severity of the frost in the mountainous regions. Taking advantage of this fortunate circumstance, he immediately ordered general Guieux to cross at one of the fords, so as to advance against the right of the enemy's entrenchments, while the troops which had arrived from the Rhine should execute the same operation in a different quarter. On this, the two divisions immediately formed into column, each having a demi-brigade of light infantry in front, aided by two battalions of grenadiers, flanked by the cavalry, and supported by one portion of the artillery under general Dommartin on the right, and another commanded by general Lespinasse on the left.

Duphoz at the head of one division, and Murat in presence of another, precipitated themselves nearly at the same time into the water, and gained the opposite bank, where the French infantry was repeatedly, but ineffectually, charged by the Austrian horse, whom they received without flinching, on the points of their bayonets; but it is principally to the murderous fire of their artillery that the republicans were indebted for this day's victory, as the cannon were stationed so as to shower down such terrible and incessant discharges of grape-shot on the foe, that all opposition soon became ineffectual. The Imperialists, however, still presented an undaunted front, fearless of danger and of death; but no sooner had general Guieux penetrated to the village of Cainin, where the archduke had established his head-quarters, than they fell into disorder, and fled towards the mountains, abandoning a large portion of artillery and baggage, the towns of Palma la Nuova, Civita di Fruili, Udina, Gemma, and all the Venetian territory, as far as the confines of Upper Carinthia and Carniola, to the mercy of the enemy.

In the mean time general Joubert had penetrated to the

banks of the Arisio, where he engaged the Austrians; and after a long and a bloody action, during which he took four thousand prisoners, obtained possession of the bridge of Neumark, with an intention of cutting off the enemy's retreat towards Bolsana. A second battle, equally unfortunate, was fought soon after at Trames; however, general Laudohn, who was well acquainted with this mountainous region, contrived for some time to arrest the progress of the invaders, at a pass of the Eisach; but at length the light infantry were fortunate enough to scale a precipice, whence they rolled immense masses of rock on the opposing column, and their centre being pierced, and one of their flanks turned nearly at the same time, the whole of the artillery, which consisted of eight pieces, with fifteen hundred soldiers, fell into the power of the republicans. After this, the invaders took possession of Brixen, where were found immense magazines.

On the other hand, the division under Massena, pursuing the centre of the retreating army, seized on the fort of Chiusa, forced the bridge of Carasola, and at length reached Tarvis, a town built on the summit of a mountain; while Bernadotte, at the head of a body of grenadiers, took possession of Gradisca, the capital of the Frioul. The capture of this city rendered the French masters of all the Austrian possessions from the Alps to the sea. Gorits submitted, without making the least resistance; Trieste, the only port in the Adriatic appertaining to the emperor, followed its example; and, while scaling the Noric Alps, still covered with snow, Bonaparte endeavoured to conciliate the minds of the inhabitants by proclamations, in which he declared his attachment to the catholic religion and a popular form of government*.

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* "Proclamation of general Bonaparte, commander in chief of the army of Italy, to the inhabitants of the Tyrole.

"*Head-quarters at Brescia*, 13 *Fructidor (August* 30).

"You solicit the protection of the French army. If you expect, you must shew yourselves worthy of it. Since the majority are well disposed, compel the few malecontents who are

In the mean time, the archduke, who had retired to Clagenfurt, perceiving that a division of his army was in danger of being surrounded by two columns of the enemy, sent a strong body of troops against Massena, who commanded one

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among you to be peaceable. Their outrageous conduct has a tendency to bring upon their native country all the calamities of war.

"The superiority of the French arms is now manifest. The emperor's ministers, bought by English gold, betray that country. That unfortunate prince commits an error in every measure he adopts.

"You wish for peace? The French are fighting for that object. We march into your territory for the express purpose of obliging the court of Vienna to accede to the prayer of desolated Europe, and to listen to the entreaties of the people; we come not here with a view of extending our dominions. Nature has pointed out the limits of France by the intersection of the Alps and the Rhine, in the same manner she has placed the Tyrol as a line of demarcation for the House of Austria.

"Tyroleans! whatever your past conduct may have been, return to your habitations! abandon the colours which have been so often disgraced, and which you are unable to defend.

"The conquerors of the Alps and Italy are now opposed to an host of enemies. They are in pursuit of a few victims, whom the generosity of my country commands me to spare.

"We are formidable in battle, but we are the friends of those who give us an hospitable reception.

"The religion, the customs, and the property, of the communes which submit, shall be respected.

"The communes whose Tyrolean inhabitants have not returned on our arrival, shall be burnt; the inhabitants seized as hostages, and sent to France.

"When a commune has submitted, the syndics shall be bound to deliver, in one hour after, a list of the inhabitants who are in the pay of the Emperor; and if they should side with the Austrians, their houses shall be immediately burnt, and their relations arrested and sent to France.

"The Tyroleans who shall co-operate with the enemy, and be taken with arms in their hands, shall be instantly shot.

"The generals of division are charged with the strictest execution of this arret.

(Signed) "Bonaparte."

"The above is an authentic copy.

(Signed) "Alexander Berthier,

"general of division, &c."

of them; in consequence of a phenomenon not unusual in a mountainous country, a battle was literally fought upon this occasion above the clouds, and the Austrians were again beaten, and pursued by the French cavalry, first across hills covered with snow, and at last along the ice. A few days after this, the same general was fortunate enough to fall in with a detachment of the Imperialists already alluded to; and, after a slight engagement, seized on all the heavy artillery, and nearly the whole of the baggage, belonging to the army of his highness. But the career of success did not stop here; for the whole of the French army being now put in motion, arrived at length in the capital of the duchy of Carinthia, where the commander in chief of the Austrians had established his head quarters previously to his retreat along the banks of the Muer. This event afforded an opportunity of addressing a proclamation to the inhabitants, in which it was attempted to detach them from the interests of the court of Vienna; and they were of course promised security, protection, and the free enjoyment of their religion. But the Carinthians evinced no inclination whatever for the conquerors; on the contrary, they were greatly attached to the Imperial family, and determined to continue faithful to their ancient masters.

Notwithstanding Bonaparte had beaten the Austrians in six different engagements, and destroyed one half of their army, during a campaign that had lasted only twenty-one days, his situation was critical and alarming. The natives of the mountainous districts were attached by habit to the dominion of the house of Austria; and the offer of liberty, which exhibited so many charms to the fascinated inhabitants of the valleys, possessed but few blandishments for a people whose patriarchal manners were as yet undebased by tyranny, while they were still protected by their poverty from the miseries of fiscal oppression. The numerous defiles of those dreary regions; the marked enmity of the peasantry; the difficulty of obtaining supplies; the danger of being surrounded, like Moreau, or nearly cut off, like Jourdan; all these considerations operated powerfully on the mind of the conqueror, and he found it necessary for his own glory, and even for the preservation of his army, to affect the language of modera-

tion. The French general accordingly addressed a letter* to his rival, in which, after lamenting the miseries of a war which had already desolated Europe during six years, he enquired whether he was desirous to merit the title of "the benefactor of mankind, and the saviour of Germany?"

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* The general in chief of the army of Italy, to his royal highness prince Charles.

"*11th Germinal, 5th year of the republic, (March 31.)*

M. general in chief,

"Brave soldiers make war, and desire peace. Have not hostilities lasted for six years? Have we not killed men, and committed evils enough against suffering humanity? Such are the exclamations used on all sides. Europe, which had taken up arms against the French republic, has laid them down. Your nation alone remains; and yet blood is about to flow more than ever. The sixth campaign is announced under the most portentous auspices. Whatever may be the result, many thousands of gallant soldiers must still fall a sacrifice in the prosecution of the contest. At some period we must come to an understanding, since time will bring all things to a conclusion, and extinguish the most inveterate resentments.

"The executive directory of the French republic communicated to his Imperial majesty its inclination to terminate a conflict which desolates the two countries. These pacific overtures were defeated by the intervention of the British cabinet. Is there no hope, then, of accommodation? Is it essential to the interests, or gratifying to the passions, of a nation far removed from the theatre of war, that we should continue to murder each other? Are not you, who are so nearly allied to the throne, and who are above all the despicable passions which generally influence ministers and governments, ambitious to merit the appellations of 'the benefactor of the human race' and 'the saviour of the German empire.' Do not imagine, my dear general, that I wish to insinuate that you cannot possibly save your country by force of arms; but on the supposition that the chances of war were even to become favourable, Germany will not suffer less on that account. With respect to myself, gallant commander, if the overture which I have now the honour to make to you could be the means of sparing the life of a single man, I should think myself prouder of the civic crown to which my interference would entitle me, than of the melancholy glory likely to result from the most brilliant military exploits. I beg of you to believe me to be, general in chief, with sentiments of the most profound respect and esteem, &c. &c.

(Signed) "Bonaparte."

The archduke, in his answer*, assured the French general of "his distinguished consideration and esteem," but he exhibited no symptom of eagerness to comply with the invitation; on the contrary, he stated "that he was not entrusted with any power on the part of his Imperial majesty to treat, and that he could not enter into any negociation whatsoever."

Thinking, by the tenor of this reply, that his highness, now encamped with his troops along the summits of the Noric Alps, was perhaps averse from peace, the French army was again put in motion, and the advanced posts of the enemy were attacked, and attempted to be carried by the bayonet: on this the commander in chief of the Imperialists pushed forward eight battalions of the grenadiers who had taken Fort Kehl; and although the light infantry had gained all the rocks to the right and left of the Austrians, and the other troops assailed them at the same time in front, yet they continued to maintain the position until night, when they retired, leaving Newmark and Judenburg in possession of the assailants.

The invaders had now traversed the southern chain of the Alps; and Bonaparte, who had by this time arrived within thirty-five leagues of Vienna, threatened to cross the northern

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* The archduke Charles's reply to Bonaparte.

"*From my head-quarters, 2d April*, 1797.

"M. general,

"Though I make war, and obey the dictates of honour and duty, yet I desire, as well as yourself, peace, for the happiness of the people and the interests of humanity.

"As, nevertheless, in the post with which I am entrusted, it does not belong to me to scrutinise or to terminate the quarrels of the belligerent powers; and as I am not furnished, on the part of his Imperial majesty, with any power to treat; you will see that it is natural, M. general, that I should not enter into any negociation with you on that subject, but wait for superior orders relative to an object of such high importance, and which is not fundamentally a part of my duty. But whatever may be the future chance of the war, or the hopes of peace, I entreat you to be persuaded, M. general, of my distinguished esteem and consideration.

"Charles, field-marshal."

range, and plant the three-coloured standard in the capital of the emperor. Luckily for him, these menaces were productive of considerable effect on the populace, and even on many of the wealthy inhabitants of the metropolis; who, after beholding a king and a pope overcome in succession, began to reflect that even the Imperial purple might not be exempt from the same fate that had humbled the crown of Sardinia and the tiara of Rome. The emperor, listening at length to the voice of his people, resolved to treat about the conditions of peace; and Bonaparte, who had now learned that the senate of Venice was encouraging an insurrection among the Italians in his rear, that the inhabitants of the Tyrole had risen in a mass, that general Loudohn had retaken Botsen and Brixen, and that Moreau and Hoche had not as yet passed the Rhine on purpose to march along the eastern extremity of Bavaria to his assistance, readily complied with the invitation. Lieutenant-general the count de Bellegarde, and major-general Morveldt, the Imperial plenipotentiaries, accordingly repaired to his head-quarters at Leoben, and after a short interview presented a note in the name of Francis II. * to which Bonaparte returned a suitable answer. A

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* "Bonaparte, general in chief, to the executive directory.

"*Head-quarters, Judenberg, 19 Germinal, (April 8.)*

"Citizens directors,

"I have the honour to transmit you the letter which I wrote to prince Charles, together with his reply. You will find annexed the note sent to me by generals Bellegarde and Morveldt, the reply which I made to them—and, finally, the conditions of the armistice which we have agreed upon. You will remark in it, by the line of demarcation, that we possessed Gratz, Bruck, and Rottermann, which we do not now occupy. Besides, it was my intention to give the army two or three days' repose. This armistice, therefore, deranges very little the military operations.

"Bonaparte."

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"*Judenburg, April 7.*

"His majesty the emperor and king has nothing more at heart than to concur in restoring repose to Europe, and putting an end to a war which desolates the two nations; in conse-

suspension of arms for nine days immediately took place, and within forty-eight hours after the expiration of that term a pacification was agreed to, and signed at the castle of Eckenwald in Styria.

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quence of the overture which you made to his royal highness, by your letter from Clagenfurt, his majesty the emperor has accordingly sent us to you, to treat upon an object of such high importance.—Pursuant to the conversations which we have just had with you, and persuaded of the good-will, as well as the intention of the two powers, to terminate, as soon as possible, this disastrous war, his royal highness desires an armistice for nine days, on purpose to attain the desired end with more speed, and in order that all delays and obstacles which the continuance of hostilities might occasion to the negociation may be removed, and every thing concur to the re-establishment of peace between the two great nations.

"Count BELLEGARDE, lieut.-general.
"MORVELDT, major-general."

"To generals Bellegarde and Morveldt.

Gentlemen,

"IN the military position of the two armies, an armistice is hostile to the French; but if it is to smooth the road to peace, which is so much desired, and will be so useful to the two nations, I consent without difficulty to your desires.

"The French Republic has often manifested to his majesty her desire to put an end to this cruel war: she remains in the same sentiments; and I do not doubt, after the conference which I have had the honour to have with you, that in a few days peace will be at length re-established between the French republic and the emperor. I beg you to confide in those sentiments of esteem and consideration with which I am, gentlemen, &c.

"BONAPARTE."

"THE ARMISTICE.

"General Bonaparte, commander in chief of the French army in Italy, and his royal highness the archduke Charles, commander in chief of the Imperial army, desirous of facilitating the negociations for peace which have been opened, agree—

"Art. I. That there shall be a suspension of arms between the French and Imperial armies, to commence on this 7th day of April, and to expire on the 16th at night.

It was stipulated in this contract, since known by the name of the treaty of Leoben, that his Imperial majesty should renounce, for himself and his successors, all right and title to the Austrian Netherlands, and acknowledge the Cisalpine republic; the Rhine was to be the common boundary between the two nations, and the navigation of that river was fully conceded to the French.

The emperor but ill able to bear the enormous expences incident to the present war, immediately began to disarm. He accordingly published a proclamation*, by which he enjoined that the orders for the general levy should be superseded, and commanded "the peasants to return to their rustic labours, the students to their schools, and the artisans to their respective employments."

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"II. The French army shall keep the following line: the advanced posts of the right wing of this army shall remain in the position it is now in, between Fiume and Trieste; the line shall extend to Treffen, Littai, Windischleistritz, Marburg, Chienhaussen, and the right line of the Muhr, Gratz, Bruch, Leoben, Trasayak, Mantem, along the road from Mantem to Rottenmann, from Rottenmann, Irding, along the valley of Lems, to Rastadt, Saint Michel, Spital, the valley of the Drave, and Lientz.

"III. There shall also be a suspension of arms in the Tyrole; the generals commanding the French and Imperial troops in that quarter are to confer together, and determine on the posts that each shall occupy. Hostilities shall not recommence in the Tyrole till twenty-four hours after the generals shall have agreed upon it; and in all cases, twenty-four hours shall elapse after the generals commanding the French and Austrian troops in the Tyrole shall have been reciprocally informed of it.

"Morveldt, major-general.
"Count Bellegarde, lieut.-general in the service of the emperor.
"Bonaparte, general in chief of the army of the French republic."

* Proclamation published at Vienna, April 28, 1797.

## CHAP. II.

*Campaign of* 1797 *in Germany—Victorious Career of the French—Armistice.*

WHILE the army of Italy, after overcoming so many generals, menaced the capital of Austria itself with subjugation, it was determined by the directory to make a new irruption into Germany. Accordingly, but two days before the signature of the preliminary articles of the peace of Leoben, the French resolved to cross the Rhine, and assail the hereditary dominions of the emperor on the side of Bavaria; while Bonaparte, in case of a new rupture, might advance to the walls of Vienna.

JOURDAN, no longer a favourite of fortune, or of the directory, was permitted to retire for a while from his military toils; and Hoche, a general of considerable talents, and uncommon energy, nominated to succeed him in the command of the army of the Sambre and Meuse. He accordingly repaired to head-quarters, and having cantoned his troops in such a manner as to be able to make a sudden movement, on receiving a courier from Paris, he dispatched a flag to the head-quarters of the enemy, with an intimation to general Wernech, that hostilities were about to recommence. The reiterated defeats and embarrassments of the archduke Charles, in Upper Styria, had induced the Austrians, the Germans, and the emigrants, to redouble their activity upon the banks of the Rhine; but the numerous detachments sent to the assistance of his highness, weakened the army in that quarter to such a degree, that it was deemed imprudent to hazard a battle in the plains between the Sieg and the Lahn; a suspension of arms was therefore proposed on one side, and declined on the other.

AFTER refusing to accede to an armistice, unless the fortress of Ehrenbreitstein was immediately delivered up to him, Hoche advanced against the enemy, carried all their redoubts by a general assault, crossed the Lahn in pursuit of them, en-

camped on the banks of the Nidda, and threatened to seize upon Frankfort. General Wernech was so conscious of his inferiority, that he retired to an entrenched camp behind the Lahn, and sent forward his heavy baggage and artillery towards Wursburg, so that he might be enabled, in case of accident, to make a retrograde movement without any difficulty. These precautions spread terror and consternation throughout the empire, and enabled the army of the Sambre and Meuse to cross the Rhine at Mulhein and Neuwied without any difficulty.

The directory being well acquainted with the critical position of Bonaparte, then entangled amidst the Styrian mountains, and hearing of the approach of two numerous armies, the one from Suabia, under Laudohn, and the other from Hungary, commanded by Alvinzi, with an intention to act on his rear, was desirous of a prompt and formidable diversion, and therefore gave immediate orders for the march of Moreau. That celebrated chief, who had acquired a greater portion of the public confidence by a masterly retreat than could have been obtained from an uniform succession of victories, now placed himself at the head of the army of the Rhine and Moselle, with which he passed the former river in the neighbourhood of Strasburgh. On the arrival of his advanced guard on the opposite bank, it endeavoured to obtain possession of the village of Diersheim, as well as the neighbouring wood; but general Duhem was desperately wounded, and the assailants repulsed: general Vandamme however rallied the troops, and carried the place with the bayonet. Nevertheless, this post was again contested with great fury; for the Austrians being reinforced by large bodies of horse and foot, and supported with twenty-five pieces of artillery, repeatedly penetrated the entrenchments, which had been thrown up in haste, but they were at length forced to betake themselves to flight, in consequence of the exertions of Dessaix, leaving the town and the adjoining fields strewed with the bodies of the slain.

In the course of the succeeding day, the remainder of the army crossed the river; on which, Moreau being now enabled to act on the offensive, immediately formed his troops into several columns, and with one seized on the villages of

Lients and Hobine; a second easily obtained possession of Fort Kehl, which had made such a long and gallant resistance during the latter end of the preceding year; while a third marched towards the banks of the Kintzig, and before night the Austrians, attacked on all sides with the bayonet, had dispersed in different directions. Their loss on this occasion was not inconsiderable, for the republicans made the whole of the regiment of D'Alton prisoners, and seized on the park of artillery.

After pursuing the discomfited Imperialists during eight whole days, the French army of the Rhine and Moselle at length found itself among the mountains of the Brisgau; and while the left wing, commanded by general St. Cyr, took possession of Helmhingen and Lichtenau, the centre under general Vandamme penetrated into the adjoining valley, and the right approached Fribourg. Field-marshal Latour, unable to stop the progress of the victors, retired to the borders of the Danube; and at the moment Moreau was preparing to achieve new triumphs, he received a courier from Bonaparte, announcing the signature of the preliminaries of peace at Leoben.

Similar intelligence arrived at the head-quarters of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, at the critical period when general Wernech, finding himself too weak to contend with superior numbers, had abandoned Frankfort to the conquerors.

But no sooner were the glad tidings of peace disseminated throughout the rival camps, than convivial songs succeeded to the shouts of war; the officers and soldiers, who but a few hours before had contended hand to hand, now precipitated themselves into each other's arms, while the sounds of joy succeeded to the horrors of carnage.

A suspension of arms was immediately agreed to between the respective commanders: the Mayne and the Nedda were to be considered as the line of separation between the Austrians and the French; the navigation of the Rhine and the Moselle was declared to be free; and it was stipulated that the generals Hoche and Moreau, the latter of whom transmit-

ted the first intelligence of the peace to the directory*, should

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* Message from the Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, on the 25th of April, respecting the victories in Italy, and on the Rhine, and the signing of the preliminaries of a feparate peace with the Emperor.

" Citizens Representatives,

The armies of the Rhine and Moselle, after having favoured the brilliant operations of the army of Italy, by driving before them the Imperial troops on a former occasion, were no longer to remain in a state of inaction; they have just opened the campaign, and the first movements have been attended with signal success. The army of the Sambre and Meuse, more formidable still by the remembrance of some checks that they have already revenged, rendered the 29th Germinal illustrious by a pitched battle and three actions, which immediately established their positions upon the right bank of the Rhine. Among the glorious trophies of this victory are seven thousand prisoners of war, twenty-seven pieces of artillery, seven standards, sixty ammunition waggons, &c.

" The passage of the Upper Rhine, by the army of the Rhine and the Moselle, was accomplished on the 1st of Floreal. It seems even to surpass the brilliant operation which took place at the commencement of the last campaign. This brave army, more proud perhaps of its retreat from Bavaria than of the victories that conducted it into that country; which obliged the archduke to consume his forces before Kehl, while Mantua called in vain to him for succour; has again taken possession of that very fort by a coup-de-main, which it had before defended for three months.

" This passage was accomplished in broad day, and by main force, while the enemy were ranged in order of battle on the opposite bank.—They have lost several standards, more than twenty pieces of cannon, their military chest, the bureau of the état-major, and from three to four thousand prisoners of war, one of whom is a general. The number of killed and wounded is enormous.

" Thus the enemy, disappointed in all their schemes, and every where vanquished, have no safety but in that peace which we have always offered them upon equitable terms.

" The dispatch, in which general Moreau informs us of the passage of the Rhine by the army of the Rhine and Moselle, is terminated by the following postscript:—' A courier which I received this moment from general Bonaparte, announces to me the signing of the preliminaries of peace with the emperor.' "

" Rewbell, President.
" La Garde, Secretary-general."

preserve all their conquests until a final adjustment had taken place.

In the mean time Massena was sent by Bonaparte to Paris, with a copy of the treaty of Leoben, and the colours taken from the Austrians during the two last engagements; while the generals Sole and Mermet at the same time presented the directory with the trophies won in Germany. The joyful intelligence was immediately communicated to the two councils, and the inhabitants of the capital celebrated the triumphs of the republic by festivals in honour of its victorious armies.

## CHAP. III.

*Venice is seized upon by Bonaparte—Treaty of Campo Formio.*

The pacification of Leoben, which separated the house of Austria from her alliance with England, enabled Bonaparte to boast that he would liberate another nation from the most debasing servitude, and his threat to trample a cruel aristocracy in the dust made the nobles of Venice tremble within their marble palaces.

This state, which had been a maritime power of some consideration so long as the government remained popular, sunk into obscurity the moment that it became patrician. Timid, cruel, and distrustful, while its citizens were terrified into submission by sudden arrests and secret imprisonment, the most pusillanimous condescension was exhibited to foreign powers, and a crooked and cowardly policy substituted in the place of a vigorous and beneficent administration.

The shadow of independence was still however kept up, and might have been maintained for some time, had not the French revolution, so fertile in changes, produced the total overthrow of a state long since hastening to decrepitude. The senate, alarmed at the progress of doctrines likely to shake its own authority, began to lean towards the coalition, and acting on the false but delusive idea that the power of the

house of Austria was stationary and the successes of her enemies in Italy ephemeral, produced its own annihilation by an excess of refinement. Instead of yielding by turns to every conqueror, and evincing, as in former times, a politic circumspection, the patricians were eager to exhibit a marked enmity to the French. No sooner did the situation of Napoleone Bonaparte, amidst the mountains and defiles of Styria, seem to justify the hope that he would experience the fate of Charles XII. at Pultowa, than they took an open and an active part against him, and confidently asserted, "that it appertained to the lion of St. Mark to verify the proverb that Italy was destined to become the tomb of the French." They however might have escaped with the chastisement of a slight fine, had not the conqueror found leisure, in consequence of his late treaty with the cabinet of Vienna, to indulge in brilliant and romantic theories, which could never be realised without the possession of the fleet of Venice, and her islands in the Mediterranean He had already sent one of his *aide-de-camps* from Judenbourg, to offer either "peace or war," and to intimate "that the days of Charles VIII. were past." No sooner had he returned from his expedition, than he determined to carry his menaces into execution. He accordingly published a manifesto* at Palma la Nuova, in which he

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* Message from the Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, on the 27th Floreal (May 16.)

"Citizens Representatives,

"The Directory have just received the subjoined manifesto, published by the general in chief Bonaparte, relative to our situation with the republic of Venice.—They immediately approved of the measures adopted in the manifesto, for the safety of the army of Italy, and the support of the republic. They hasten to inform you of their determination, in execution of the 328th article of the constitution.

"Manifesto of General Bonaparte against Venice.

"*Head-quarters, Palma Nova,* 14 *Floreal (May* 13.)

"Whilst the French were engaged in the defiles of Styria, and left far behind them Italy and the principal establishments of the army, where only a small number of battalions remained, this was the conduct of the government of Venice: 1. They

enumerated the offences, and ordered the lion of St. Mark, the emblem of this bastard republic, to be every where demolished, in consequence of the outrages committed against

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profited of Passion-week, to arm forty thousand peasants, and uniting these with ten regiments of Sclavonians, organized them into different corps, and sent them to different points, to intercept all kinds of communication between the French army and the places in its rear.—2. Extraordinary commissaries, ammunition of all kinds, and a great quantity of cannon, were sent from Venice to complete the organization of different corps.—3. All persons in the Terra Firma, who had received us favourably, were arrested; benefits and the confidence of the government were conferred upon all those who possessed a furious hatred to the French name, and especially the fifteen conspirators of Verona whom the proveditori Prioli had arrested three months ago as having premeditated the massacre of the French.—4. In the squares, coffee-houses, and other public places of Venice, all Frenchmen were insulted, mal-treated, and called by the names of jacobins, regicides, atheists. The French were ordered to leave Venice, and a short time afterwards they were prohibited from entering it.—5. The people of Padua, Vicenza, and Verona, were ordered to take up arms, to second the different corps of the army, and to begin the new Sicilian Vespers. It belongs, said the Venetian officers, to the lion of St. Mark to verify the proverb—that Italy is the tomb of the French.—6. The priests in the pulpit preached up the crusade: and the priests in the state of Venice never speak any thing but the will of the government. Pamphlets, perfidious proclamations, anonymous letters, were printed in the different towns, and began to agitate the minds of all: in a state where the liberty of the press is not permitted, in a government as much feared as it is secretly detested, printers publish, and authors write, nothing but what the senate pleases.—7. All smiled at first at the perfidious project of the government. The French blood flowed on every side. On all the roads, our convoys, our couriers, and every thing for the army, were intercepted.—8. At Padua, a chief of battalion and two other Frenchmen were arrested. At Castiglione de Mori our soldiers were disarmed and assassinated. On all the great roads from Mantua to Legnano, and from Cassano to Verona, we had more than two hundred men assassinated.—9. Two French battalions, wishing to join the army, met at Chiari with a division of the Venetian troops, which attempted to oppose their passage: an obstinate conflict took place, and our brave soldiers cut a way for themselves, by putting these perfidious enemies to the rout.—10. At Valeggio there was another battle, at Dessengaro a third. The French were every where the weakest in numbers; but they

France. These consisted in the arming of forty thousand peasants, to which were added ten regiments of Sclavonians,

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know well that the number of the enemy's battalions is never counted when they are composed only of assassins.—11. At the second feast in easter, on the ringing of the bell, all the French were assassinated in Verona. Neither the sick in the hospitals were respected, nor those who, in a state of convalescence, were walking in the streets; they were thrown into the Adige, where they died, pierced with a thousand wounds from stilettoes. More than four hundred were assassinated.—12. For a week the Venetian army besieged the three castles of Verona. The cannon which were placed on the battery were carried at the point of the bayonet. The town was set on fire, and the moveable column that arrived in the interim, put these cowards to complete rout, by taking three thousand of the enemy prisoners, among whom were several Venetian generals.—13. The house of the French consul to Zante was burnt in Dalmatia.—14. A Venetian ship of war took an Austrian convoy under its protection, and fired several shot at the corvette *La Brune*.—15. The *Liberateur d'Italie*, a vessel of the republic, with only three or four small pieces of cannon, and a crew of forty men, was sunk in the very port of Venice, and by order of the senate. The young and intrepid Haugier, lieutenant and commander of the said ship, as soon as he saw himself attacked by the fire of the fort and the admiral's galley, being from both not more than pistol-shot, ordered his crew to go below. He alone got upon the deck, in the midst of a storm of grape-shot, and endeavoured, by his speeches, to disarm the fury of his assassins; but he fell dead. His crew threw themselves into the sea, and were pursued by six challops, with troops on board, in the pay of Venice, who cut to pieces several that sought for safety in the water. One of the masters, with several wounds, and bleeding in every part, had the good fortune to reach the shore, near the castle of the port; but the commandant himself cut off his hand with an axe.

"On account of the above-mentioned grievances, authorised by the 22d title, article 328, of the constitution of the republic, and in consequence of the urgency of affairs, the general in chief requires the French minister to the republic of Venice, to leave the said city; directs the different agents of the republic of Venice in Lombardy, and the Venetian Terra Firma, to quit it in twenty-four hours; directs the generals of division to treat as enemies the troops of the republic of Venice, and to pull down, in the towns of the Terra Firma, the lion of St. Marc. Every one will receive, in the orders of the day to-morrow, a particular instruction respecting ulterior operations.

"BONAPARTE."

with a view of intercepting the communications of his army with Italy; the assassination of all the republicans in Verona; of several officers in Padua, and the poinarding of two hundred soldiers in the neighbourhood of Mantua; but, at the same time that these sanguinary atrocities were urged as a just cause of war, it appeared to be considered as criminal for the magistrates of an independent state to endeavour to obtain possession of their own fortresses, and it was deemed unjust to punish such of their own subjects as were guilty of conspiracy.

Twenty-five thousand Frenchmen, already encamped within sight of Venice, were prepared to carry the threats of their general into execution; Augereau accordingly entered the city, and seized on the arsenal and forts, demanding at the same time the three inquisitors, and ten principal members of the senate, accused of having instigated their countrymen to the assassination of the French. A democratical municipality was installed in the course of a few days; the islands in the Adriatic were subdued by means of the navy that had formerly protected them; and the members of the government, finding neither commiseration nor respect, among a people whom they had so cruelly oppressed, were happy in being allowed to retire from their native country.

It was not until some time after the signature of the preliminaries of Leoben, that a final pacification took place with the emperor. This however was rendered more easy, and also more palatable, by the recent acquisitions of the French general, who, by the treaty of Campo Formio*, now confer-

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* "Definitive Treaty of Peace, concluded between the French Republic and the Emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia.

"His majesty the emperor of the Romans, king of Hungary and Bohemia, and the French republic, being desirous to consolidate a peace, the basis of which was laid in the preliminaries signed at the castle of Eckenwald, near Leoben, in Styria, on the 18th of April, 1797 (the 29th Germinal, 5th year of the French republic, one and indivisible,) have named for their plenipotentiaries, viz. his majesty the emperor and king, the sieur D. Martius Mastrily, and the noble Neapolitan patrician, marquis de Gallo, knight of the royal order of St. Januarius, gentleman of the bed-chamber to his majesty the king of the

red the city of Venice, the territories of that state on the continent, including Istria and Dalmatia, and the Adriatic isles, on the house of Austria, while he reserved for the

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Two Sicilies, and his ambassador extraordinary at the court of Vienna; the sieur Louis de Cobenzel, count of the holy Roman empire and great cross of the royal order of St. Stephen, chamberlain, privy-counsellor of his said imperial and royal apostolic majesty, and his ambassador-extraordinary to his imperial majesty of all the Russias; the sieur Maximilian, count de Meerveldt, knight of the Teutonic order, and of the military order of Maria Theresa, chamberlain and major-general of the cavalry in the armies of his said majesty the emperor and king; and the sieur Ignatius, baron de Degelmann, minister-plenipotentiary of his said majesty to the Swiss republic :—And the French republic, Bonaparte, commander in chief of the French army in Italy.

"The aforesaid plenipotentiaries, after an exchange of their respective powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

"Article I. There shall be hereafter a solid, perpetual, and inviolable peace between his majesty the emperor of the Romans, king of Hungary and Bohemia, his heirs and successors, and the French republic.

"The contracting parties shall pay the greatest attention to the maintaining between themselves and their respective dominions the most perfect harmony, without hereafter permitting on either side, any kind of hostilities to be committed, either by sea or land, for any cause or under any pretence whatsoever; and they shall carefully avoid for the future any thing which might prejudice the union happily established. There shall not be granted any succour or protection, either directly or indirectly, to those who shall attempt any thing injurious or prejudicial against either of the contracting parties.

"II. Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, the contracting parties shall take off all sequestrations imposed on the effects, rights, and properties, of individuals residing in the respective territories and countries that are united to them, and also on the public establishments situated therein; they bind themselves to pay all the debts they may have contracted for pecuniary advances made to them by the said individuals and public establishments, and to discharge or reimburse all the annuities settled to their advantage by each of the contracting parties. The present article is declared to extend to the Cisalpine republic.

"III. His majesty the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, renounces for himself and his successors, in favour of the French republic, all his rights and titles to the ci-devant Austrian Netherlands.—The French republic shall enter on the perpetual possession of these countries, in full right and sov-

French Republic the islands of Corfu, Zante, Cephalonia, St. Maure, Cerigo, and a part of Albania. Nor was the Cisalpine republic forgotten; for this new state, founded on

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ereignty, and on all the territorial possessions dependent thereon.

"IV. All debts mortgaged before the war, on the land of the countries expressed in the preceding articles, and which mortgages shall have been drawn up with the usual formalities, shall be discharged by the French republic.—The plenipotentiaries of his majesty the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, shall transmit a statement of them as soon as possible to the plenipotentiary of the French republic, and previous to the exchange of the ratifications, to the end that at the time of this exchange, the plenipotentiaries of both powers may come to an agreement upon all the explanatory and additional articles of the present treaty, and sign them.

"V. His majesty the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, consents that the French republic shall possess in full sovereignty the ci-devant Venetian islands of the Levant, viz. Corfu, Zante, Cephalonia, St. Maure, Cerigo, and other islands dependent thereon, together with Butrinto, Larta, Vouizza, and in general all the ci-devant Venetian establishments in Albania, which are situated lower down than the Gulf of Lodrino.

"VI. The French republic consents that his majesty the emperor and king shall possess in full sovereignty the countries hereinafter mentioned, viz. Istria, Dalmatia, the ci-devant Venetian islands in the Adriatic, the mouths of the Castaro, the city of Venice, the Venetian canals, and the countries that lie between the hereditary states of his majesty the emperor and king, the Adriatic sea, and the line to be drawn from the Tyrol along the torrent before Gardola, stretching across the Lake Garda, as far as Lacisa; from thence a military line shall be drawn to Sangiacomo, holding out an equal advantage to both parties, which line shall be traced out by engineer officers appointed on either side, previous to the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty. The line or limitation shall then pass the Adige to Sangiacomo, running along the left bank of that river to the mouth of the Canal-blanc, comprising in it that part of Porto Legnano that lies on the right side of the Adige, together with a district of three thousand toises. The line shall be continued along the left bank of the Canal-blanc, the left bank of the Tartaro, the left bank of the canal called the Polisella, to where it empties itself into the Po, and along the left bank of the Great Po as far as the sea.

"VII. His majesty the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, renounces for ever, in his own name, and in that of his successors, &c. in favour of the Cisalpine republic, all the rights and titles arising from these rights, which his said ma-

the union of the Cispadane and Transpadane commonwealths, and comprising Austrian Lombardy, Bergamo, Brescia, Cremona, Modena, Massa, Carrara, together with part of the

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jesty might pretend to have over these countries before the war, and which countries at present constitute a part of the Cisalpine republic, which republic shall possess them in their full right and sovereignty, together with all their territorial dependencies.

" VIII. His majesty the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, acknowledges the Cisalpine republic as an independent power. This republic comprises the ci-devant Austrian Lombardy, the Bergamesque, the Brescian, the Cremonesque, part of the ci-devant Venetian states to the east and south of the Legner, described in the 6th article as the frontier of the states of his majesty the emperor, in Italy; the Modenese, the principality of Massa, and of Carara, and the three legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna.

" IX. In all countries ceded, acquired, or exchanged, in virtue of the present treaty, all sequestration imposed on the effects, rights, and property of individuals belonging to these countries, shall be taken off, provided these individuals shall have been thus affected on account of the war that has subsisted between his imperial and royal majesty and the French republic, nor shall they on this account be molested in their persons and property. Such persons as may hereafter be desirous to withdraw from the said countries, shall be bound to make a declaration of their intention three months after the publication of the treaty or definitive peace. There shall be granted them the term of three months to enable them to sell their effects either moveable or immoveable, and dispose of them in the manner they may judge most expedient.

" X. The countries ceded, acquired, or exchanged, by virtue of the present treaty, shall leave the debts mortgaged on their territories, to be discharged by those under whose dominion they may fall.

" XI. The navigation of such rivers and canals as mark the boundaries between the possessions of his majesty the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, and those of the French republic, shall be free, without its being permitted to either of the powers to establish any toll or custom on them, or keep thereon any armed vessel: by which, however, is not precluded any precaution which may be thought necessary for the protection and safety of the fortress of Porto Legnano.

" XII. All sales or alienations of property, all engagements entered into, either by the cities or by the government, or by the civil administrative authorities of the ci-devant Venetian territories, for the maintenance of the German and French armies, up to the date of the signature of the present treaty, shall be confirmed and acknowledged as valid.

Venetian states, and the three legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna, was declared to be sovereign and independent; while the termination of the disputes with the empire

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" XIII. The territorial titles and archives of the different countries ceded or exchanged by the present treaty, shall, within two months from the date of the exchange of the ratification, be put into the hands of the powers which shall have acquired the property of them. The plans and maps of the fortresses, towns, and countries, which the contracting parties acquire by the present treaty, shall be faithfully given up to them. The military papers and registers taken in the present war from the état-major of the respective armies, shall be restored in the same manner.

" XIV. The two contracting parties, equally animated with the desire of removing every ground that might interrupt the good understanding happily established between them, mutually bind themselves in the most solemn manner to contribute to the utmost of their power to the maintenance of internal tranquility in their respective states.

" XV. There shall immediately be concluded a treaty of commerce, founded upon an equitable basis, and such as shall secure to his majesty the emperor, king of Hungary, and the French republic, advantages equal to those which the most favoured nations enjoy in their respective states. Meanwhile all communications and commercial relations shall be restored to the situation in which they stood before the war.

" XVI. No inhabitant of any of the countries occupied by the Austrian and French armies shall be prosecuted or questioned, either in his person or property, on account of his political opinions or his conduct, civil, military, or commercial, during the war that has taken place between the two powers.

" XVII. His majesty the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, shall not, agreeably to the principles of neutrality, admit into any of his ports, during the course of the present war, any vessels belonging to any of the belligerent powers.

" XVIII. His majesty the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, binds himself to cede to the duke of Modena, as an indemnification for the territory which that prince and his heirs possessed in Italy, the Brisgaw; which he shall possess upon the same conditions as those in virtue of which they possessed the Modenese.

" XIX. The landed and personal property not alienated, belonging to their royal highnesses the archduke Charles and the archduchess Christiana, which are situated in the countries ceded to the French republic, shall be restored after the deduction of the expences of sale, within three years. The same

was referred to a congress to be assembled at Rastadt. This treaty was immediately published, but fourteen secret arti-

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shall be done relative to the landed and personal property of his royal highness the archduke Ferdinand, in the territory of the Cisalpine republic.

" XX. There shall be held a congress, solely composed of the plenipotentiaries of the Germanic empire and the French republic, for a pacification between the two powers. This congress shall be opened a month after the signing of the present treaty, or as soon as possible.

" XXI. All the prisoners of war made on either side, and the hostages given or carried away during the present war, who have not yet been restored, shall be given back in forty days, dated from the day of the signing of the present treaty.

" XXII. The warlike contributions, deliveries, furnishings, and devastations of every kind, which have taken place in the respective states of the contracting powers, shall cease from the day on which the ratifications of the present treaty shall be exchanged.

" XXIII. His majesty the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, and the French republic, shall mutually preserve to each other the same ceremonial with regard to rank and other etiquettes which was constantly observed before the war. His said majesty and the Cisalpine republic shall observe with regard to each other the same ceremonial of etiquette which was in use between his majesty and the republic of Venice.

" XXIV. The present treaty shall be ratified by the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, and by the French republic, within thirty days from this day, or sooner if possible, and the instruments of ratification in due form shall be exchanged at Rastadt.

" Done and signed at Campo Formio, near Udina, the 17th October, 1797 (26th Vendemaire, sixth year of the French republic, one and indivisible.)

(Signed) " Bonaparte.
" The Marquis De Gallo.
" Louis Count Cobentzel.
" The Count De Meerveldt.
" The Baron De Degelmann."

" The executive directory ratifies and signs the present treaty of peace with his majesty the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia. negociated in the name of the French republic by citizen Bonaparte, general in chief of the army of Italy, invested with powers by the executive directory, and charged with instructions to that effect.

cles*, highly important in their own nature, were concealed for a time. By one of these it was agreed on the part of the emperor, to use his influence, " that the French republic shall,

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" Done in the national palace of the Executive Directory, 5th Brumaire, (October 26th,) sixth year of the French republic, one and indivisible."

* " Secret Articles, and additional Convention, of the Treaty of Campo Formio, of the 29th Vendemaire, 6th year (October 17th, 1798.)

" Article I. His majesty the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, consents that the boundaries of the French republic shall extend to the under-mentioned line, and engages to use his influence, that the French republic shall, by the peace to be concluded with the German empire, retain the same line as its boundary: namely, the left bank of the Rhine from the confines of Switzerland, below Basle, to the branching off of the Nette, above Andernach; including the head of the bridge at Manheim, the town and fortress of Mentz, and both banks of the Nette, from where it falls into the Rhine, to its source near Bruch. From thence, the line passes by Kenscherade and Borley to Kerpen, and then to Ludersdorf, Blantenheim, Marmagen, Coll, and Gemund, with all the circles and territory of these places, along both banks of the Olff, to where it falls into the Roer, and along both banks of the Roer; including Heimbach, Nideggen, Durin, and Juliers, with their circles and territory; as also the places on the banks, to Linnig, included. Hence the line extends by Hoffern, and Kylensdalen, Papelernod, Lutersforst, Rodenberg, Harverstoo, Anderscheid, Kaldekuchen, Vampach, Herrigen, and Grosberg, including the town of Venloo and its territory. And if, notwithstanding the mediation of his imperial majesty, the German empire shall refuse to consent to the above-mentioned boundary line of the republic, his imperial majesty hereby formally engages to furnish to the empire no more than his contingent, which shall not be employed in any fortified place, or it shall be considered as a rupture of the peace and friendship which are restored between his majesty and the republic.

" II. His imperial majesty will employ his good offices in the negociation of the peace of the empire, to obtain, 1. That the navigation of the Rhine, from Hunningen to the territory of Holland, shall be free both to the French republic and the states of the empire, on the right bank: 2. That the possessors of territory, near the mouth of the Moselle, shall never, and on pretence, attempt to interrupt the free navigation and passage of ships and other vessels, from the Moselle into the Rhine: 3. The French republic shall have the free navigation of the

by the peace to be concluded with the German empire, retain as its boundary the left bank of the Rhine, from the confines of Switzerland below Basle, to the branching of the Nette

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Meuse; and the tolls and other imposts, from Venloo to Holland, shall be abolished.

"III. His imperial majesty renounces, for himself and his successors, the sovereignty and possession of the county of Falkenstein and its dependencies.

"IV. The countries which his imperial majesty takes possession of, in consequence of the 6th article of the public definitive treaty, this day signed, shall be considered as an indemnification for the territory given up by the 7th article of the public treaty, and the foregoing article.—This renunciation shall only be in force, when the troops of his imperial majesty shall have taken possession of the countries ceded by the said articles.

"V. The French republic will employ its influence, that his majesty the emperor shall receive the archbishopric of Saltzburg, and that part of the circle of Bavaria which lies between the archbishopric of Saltzburg the river Inn, Salza, and the Tyrol; including the town of Wasserburg, on the right bank of the Inn, with an arrondissement of 3000 toises.

"VI. His imperial majesty, at the conclusion of the peace with the empire, will give up to the French republic the sovereignty and possession of the Frickthal, and all the territory belonging to the house of Austria, on the left bank of the Rhine, between Zurgach and Basle, provided his majesty, at the conclusion of the said peace, receives a proportionate indemnification. The French republic, in consequence of particular arrangements to be made, shall unite the above-mentioned territory with the Helvetic republic, without further interference on the part of his imperial majesty or the empire.

"VII. The two contracting powers agree, that when, in the ensuing peace with the German empire, the French republic shall make an acquisition in Germany, his Imperial majesty shall receive an equivalent; and, if his imperial majesty shall make such an acquisition, the French republic shall, in like manner, receive an equivalent.

"VIII. The prince of Nassau Dietz, late stadtholder of Holland, shall receive a territorial indemnification; but neither in the vicinity of the Austrian possessions, nor in the vicinity of the Batavian republic.

"IX. The French republic makes no difficulty to restore to the king of Prussia his possessions on the left bank of the Rhine. No new acquisition shall, however, be proposed for the king of Prussia. This the two contracting powers mutually guarantee.

"X. Should the king of Prussia be willing to cede to the French and Batavian republics some small parts of his territo-

above Andernach, including the head of the bridge of Manheim, the town and fortress of Mentz, and both banks of the Nette, from where that river falls into the Rhine, to its source near Bruch." His imperial majesty also agreed to use his good offices for obtaining for France the free navigation of the Rhine, the Moselle, and the Meuse: on the other hand, the republic was to endeavour to acquire for the house of Austria the archbishopric of Saltzburg, and part of the circle of Bavaria, while the towns and fortresses of Mentz, Ehrenbreitstein, Philipsburg, Manheim, Kungstein, Ulm, and Ingolstadt, were to be evacuated by the imperial troops in the course of twenty days; and it was expressly stipulated, that if the German empire refused to consent to the extended boundaries of France, his majesty was to furnish no more than his contingent, which was not to be employed in any fortified town.

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ry on the left bank of the Meuse, as Sevenger, and other possessions towards the Yssel, his imperial majesty will use his influence that such cessions shall be accepted and made valid by the empire.

"XI. His imperial majesty will not object to the manner in which the imperial fiefs have been disposed of by the French republic, in favour of the Ligurian republic. His imperial majesty will use his influence, together with the French republic, that the German empire may renounce all feudal sovereignty over the countries which make a part of the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics; as also the imperial fiefs, such as Laniguiana, and those which lie between Tuscany and the states of Parma, the Ligurian and Lucchese republics, and the late territory of Modena, which fiefs make a part of the Cisalpine republic.

"XII. His imperial majesty and the French republic will, in concert, employ their influence, in the course of concluding the peace of the empire, that the princes and states of the empire, who, in consequence of the stipulations of the present treaty of peace, or in consequence of the treaty to be concluded with the empire, shall suffer any loss in territory or rights (particularly the electors of Mentz, Treves, and Cologne, the elector palatine of Bavaria, the duke of Wirtemberg and Teck, the margrave of Baden, the duke of Deux Ponts, the landgrave of Hesse Cassel and Darmstadt, the princes of Nassau Saarbruck, Salm, Coburg, Lowenstein, Westheim, Wied-Runckel, and the count de Leyn,) shall receive proportionable indemni-

In the mean time, Bonaparte, after thus giving peace to the continent, protecting the Cisalpine, and exhibiting a marked predilection for the Ligurian commonwealth, founded on the ruins of the aristocracy of Genoa, returned to Paris, where he was hailed as the conqueror of Italy, and received very graciously by the government, while he experienced the most rapturous applauses on the part of the people. But many of the Italians, and not a few of the French, were disgusted at the fate of Venice, as the people instead of being freed from their chains, in conformity to their just expectations, merely transferred their servitude by an exchange of masters. On the other hand, the English began to doubt of the purity of the motives with which the house of Austria had hitherto pretended to be actuated; and beheld not without wonder and astonishment, the emperor secretly sacrificing the interests of Germany to his own security, and openly stipulating for indemnities from the dominions of an ally which had been devoted to destruction in consequence of its attachment to the common cause.

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fications in Germany, which shall be settled by mutual agreement with the French republic.

"XIII. The troops of his imperial majesty, twenty days after the ratifications of the present treaties, shall evacuate the towns and fortresses of Mentz, Ehrenbreitstein, Philipsburg, Manheim, Kunigstein, Ulm, and Ingolstadt, as also the whole territory appertaining to the German empire, to the boundaries of the hereditary states.

"XIV. The present secret articles shall have the same force as if they were inserted word for word in the public treaty of peace this day signed, and shall in like manner be ratified, at the same time, by the two contracting powers; which ratifications shall be exchanged, in due form, at Rastadt.

"Done and signed at Campo Formio, the 17th of October, 1797 (16th of Vendemaire,) in the 6th year of the French republic, one and indivisible.

(Signed) "Bonaparte.
"Marquis De Gallo.
"Louis, Count Cobentzel.
"Count Meerveldt, Maj. Gen.
"Count Degelmann."

## CHAP. IV.

*Naval Campaign of* 1797—*Victories off Cape St. Vincent, and Camperdown—Bombardment of Cadiz.*

WHILE the arms of France proved triumphant on the continent, in consequence of the exploits of three of her generals*, the fleets of Great Britain rode paramount in every sea; two of her admirals†, by means of two brilliant victories, appeared to vindicate her claim to the dominion of the ocean, and a third‡ by turns guarded the mouth of the Channel, and completely shut up the port of Brest.

SIR JOHN JERVIS, who had for some time blockaded Cadiz, having received intelligence from captain Foote of the Niger, stationed off Carthagena, that the fleet under admiral don Joseph de Cordova was at sea, immediately sailed in quest of it. At the dawn of the succeeding day the enemy were descried; but as the weather happened to be extremely hazy, it was not until ten o'clock that a frigate made the signal for twenty-five sail of the line.

NOTWITHSTANDING the British squadron consisted of no more than fifteen ships§, its veteran commander was resolved not to decline an action; he however did not disdain, upon this

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* Hoche, Pichegru, and Bonaparte.
† Lords St. Vincent and Duncan.
‡ Admiral lord Bridport.
§ British Fleet.

| *Ships' names.* | *Guns.* | *Commanders.* |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Victory - | 100 | Sir JOHN JERVIS, K. B.<br>First Captain R. Calder.<br>Second Captain G. Grey. |
| 2. Britannia - | 100 | Vice-admiral THOMPSON.<br>Captain T. Foley. |
| 3. Barfleur - | 98 | Vice-admiral hon. W. WALDEGRAVE.<br>Captain J. R. Dacres. |
| 4. Prince George | 98 | Rear-admiral W. PARKER.<br>Captain J. Irvin. |

occasion, to make use of superior seamanship, for by sailing down in a close and compact order, he contrived to begin the engagement before the Spanish admiral was able to complete his line of battle, as a number of the ships had been separated from the main body. Seizing on the critical moment when they were still in disorder, the English, by carrying a press of sail, suddenly passed through the enemy's fleet, after which they tacked in so judicious a manner, as to cut off all that portion which had fallen to leeward. About eleven o'clock the signal was made from the Victory for close fight; the van led by the Culloden accordingly commenced the fight, the other ships engaging as they came up, and after a partial cannonade, which continued for a considerable time, two ships of one hundred and twelve guns, one of eighty-four, and one of seventy-four, were captured*.

| *Ships' names.* | *Guns.* | *Commanders.* |
|---|---|---|
| 5. Blenheim - | 90 | ———T. L. Frederick. |
| 6. Namur - | 90 | ———J. H. Whitshed. |
| 7. Captain - | 74 | Commodore H. Nelson. / Captain R. W. Miller. |
| 8. Irresistible - | 74 | ———G. Martin. |
| 9. Egmont - | 74 | ———J. Sutton. |
| 10. Culloden - | 74 | ———T. Trowbridge. |
| 11. Orion - | 74 | ———sir James Saumarez. |
| 12. Colossus - | 74 | ———G. Murray. |
| 13. Excellent - | 74 | ———C. Collingwood. |
| 14. Goliath - | 74 | ———sir C. H. Knowles, bart. |
| 15. Diadem - | 64 | ———G. H. Towry. |
| | FRIGATES, &c. | |
| 1. Lively - - | 32 | Captain lord viscount Garlies. |
| 2. La Minerve - | 40 | ———G. Cockburn. |
| 3. Niger - - | 32 | ———E. J. Foote. |
| 4. Southampton - | 32 | ———J. Macnamara. |
| 5. La Bonne Citoyenne | 18 | ———C. Lindsay. |
| 6. Raven - - | 18 | ———W. Prowse. |
| And 7. Fox - - | 12 | Lieutenant W. Gibson. |

* It appears from the admiral's letter, that the Spanish fleet consisted of twenty-seven sail of the line: the names of twenty-two only had been obtained previously to the transmission of his dispatches, and these were very inaccurate, viz.

| *Guns.* | | *Guns.* |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Conception - 112 | 3. Salvador del Mundo | 112 |
| 2. Conde de Regia - 112 | 4. San Josef - | 112 |

This brilliant victory, which acquired for the British admiral the appropriate title of Lord St. Vincent, was obtained with but little loss: for only one seaman happened to be killed on board the ship carrying his flag; and although commodore Nelson in the Captain, of seventy-four guns, distinguished himself greatly upon that occasion, by boarding the San Nicolas and San Josef in succession, yet he only lost one officer, twenty seamen, and three soldiers. Much to the credit of the commander in chief, to whom the Salvador del Mundo struck, only a few English ships were engaged in the contest; nor ought it to be denied on the other hand, that although don Cordova was assailed by no less than three men-of-war, he resisted with the most commendable fortitude, and at length succeeded in escaping to Cadiz with the remainder of his squadron, after losing a great number of officers and men, among the former of whom was commodore don Francisco Xavier Winthuysen.

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| | *Guns.* | | *Guns.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5. San Nicolas - | 84 | 15. San Juan Nepomucino | 74 |
| 6. Oriente - - | 74 | 16. San Francisco de Paula | 74 |
| 7. Glorioso - - | 74 | 17. San Ysidoro - | 74 |
| 8. Atlante - - | 74 | 18. San Antonio - | 74 |
| 9. Conquestador - | 74 | 19. San Paulo - | 74 |
| 10. Soberano - | 74 | 20. San Firmin - | 74 |
| 11. Firme - - | 74 | 21. Neptuna - - | 74 |
| 12. Pelazo - - | 74 | 22. Bahama - - | 74 |
| 13. San Genaro - | 74 | 23. Name unknown - | 74 |
| 14. San Idelphonso - | 74 | 24. Name unknown - | 74 |

It appears from subsequent and more correct accounts, that the Spanish fleet consisted of: One ship, called El Santissima Trinidada, of 136 guns, Admiral don Cordova.

| | |
|---|---|
| Six of - - - | 112 |
| Two of - - - | 84 |
| Eighteen of - - - | 74 |
| Twelve frigates of - - | 34 |

Total 27 sail of the line.

Of these were taken,

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Salvador del Mundo - | 112 |
| 2. San Josef - - | 112 |
| 3. San Nicolas - - | 84 |
| 4. San Ysidoro - - | 74 |

Great rejoicings took place throughout the nation, on the arrival of intelligence relative to this decisive victory. The fleet was honoured with the thanks of both houses of parliament; the king conferred a patent of an earldom with a pension of three thousand pounds per annum on the admiral in chief; vice-admiral Thompson, and rear-admiral Parker, were created baronets; commodore Nelson was invested with the order of the Bath; and captain R. Calder was knighted. Gold medals and chains were also presented to all the commanders; and it appears that the success of this day was unclouded with either jealousy or suspicion, as no reproach was incurred by any one officer.

The other naval victory to which we before alluded, may be considered in respect to its consequences as still more important. The French, having a large army and a powerful party in Holland, determined to fit out an expedition against Ireland, which, in revenge for the succours afforded to the royalists on the coast of Britanny, was either to be wholly severed from the dominions of England, or at least subjected to all the dangers and all the miseries attendant on a civil war. The directory accordingly gave orders to embark a body of troops on board this fleet, under the command of lieutenant-general Daendels; and no doubt whatever was entertained, that some men of considerable talents and consequence in that nation would be able to prevail upon the inhabitants to join the standards of the invading army.

On the first intelligence of these preparations, the board of admiralty immediately sent a powerful squadron to the North Sea, on purpose to intercept the enemy. Admiral Duncan, an officer of much experience, and well acquainted with the coast, but who, during the course of a long life and great professional practice, had never before had any opportunity of distinguishing himself, was selected upon this occasion to command the British fleet. But, although he assumed such a station off the Texel as enabled him to discover all the motions of the enemy, yet, in consequence of repeated procrastination and delay, no occurrence of any moment took place until the autumn, when he was obliged to repair to Yarmouth to refit.

No sooner was this event known at Amsterdam, than the

Dutch government, which, perhaps on account of the advanced season, had ordered the troops to be disembarked, issued peremptory injunctions for the fleet to put to sea; on this the English commander, who not only kept a small squadron cruising off the coast, but had received the most accurate accounts of the enemy's movements, suddenly returned towards his former station.

In the mean time, admiral De Winter, who had repeatedly distinguished himself under Pichegru as a general officer, and was also supposed to be well acquainted with naval affairs, left the Texel with twenty-six sail, consisting of four ships of seventy-four, five of sixty-eight, two of sixty-four, two of fifty-six, two of fifty-four, and eight inferior vessels †. Captain Trollope, who had been stationed with a light squadron

† Dutch Fleet.

| *Ships' names.* | *Guns.* | *Commanders.* |
|---|---|---|
| 1. *Vryheid | 74 | Admiral De Winter. |
| 2. States General | 74 | Rear-admiral Story. |
| 3. Brutus | 74 | |
| 4. *Jupiter | 74 | Vice-admiral Reyntier. |
| 5. *Haerlem | 68 | |
| 6. Cerberus | 68 | |
| 7. *Devries | 68 | |
| 8. Leyden | 68 | |
| 9. *Gelykheid | 68 | |
| 10. *Wassenaer | 64 | |
| 11. *Hercules | 64 | |
| 12. *Delft | 56 | |
| 13. *Alkmaar | 56 | |
| 14. Beschermer | 54 | |
| 15. Batavia | 54 | |
| 16. *Munnikkendan | 44 | |
| 17. Mars | 44 | |
| 18. *Ambuscade | 32 | |
| 19. Minerva | 24 | |
| 20. Waaksaamheid | 26 | |
| 21. Daphne | 18 | |
| 22. Atlanta | 18 | |
| 23. Ajax | 18 | |
| 24. Galathee | 16 | |
| And 25. Haasje | 6 | |

Those marked thus * were captured.

on purpose to give notice of his approach, immediately hoisted a signal for the enemy's fleet to leeward. On this, orders were given for a general chace, and the Dutch were soon discovered drawn up in a line of battle on the larboard tack, with the country between Camperdown and Egmont about nine miles to leeward.

Admiral Duncan, whose fleet consisted of seven seventy-four-gun ships, seven sixty-fours, and one fifty †, being determined to get in between the enemy and the coast, immediately threw out a signal to bear up, break the line, and engage to leeward, which was obeyed with promptitude; but the order of battle, from the state of the weather, was far from being complete. However, vice-admiral Onslow gallantly led his division against the enemy's rear, and commenced the fight, while the commander in chief having passed through the Dutch line with the Venerable and her division,

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† British Fleet.

| *Ships' names.* | *Guns.* | *Commanders.* |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Venerable | 74 | Admiral Duncan. Captain W. G. Fairfax. |
| 2. Monarch | 74 | Vice-admiral Onslow. Captain E. O'Brien. |
| 3. Montague | 74 | ——J. Knight. |
| 4. Russel | 74 | ——H. Trollope. |
| 5. Powerful | 74 | ——W. O'Bryen Drury. |
| 6. Triumph | 74 | ——W. H. Essington. |
| 7. Bedford | 74 | ——sir T. Byard. |
| 8. Director | 64 | ——W. Bligh. |
| 9. Veteran | 64 | ——G. Gregory. |
| 10. Monmouth | 64 | ——J. Walker. |
| 11. Agincourt | 64 | ——J. Williamson. |
| 12. Ardent | 64 | ——R. R. Burgess. |
| 13. Lancaster | 64 | ——J. Wells. |
| 14. Belliqueux | 64 | ——J. Inglis. |
| 15. Isis | 50 | ——W. Mitchell. |
| FRIGATES, &c. | | |
| 1. Beaulieu | 40 | Captain Fayerman. |
| 2 Circe | 28 | ——P. Halkett. |
| And 3. Martin sloop | 16 | Hon. C. Paget. |

closed upon the van, regardless of the shore, and determined either to conquer or to perish. On this occasion, the hostile admirals, on board of ships exactly equal in size and guns, singled out each other; but as De Winter was not only inferior in point of general force, but deserted during the action, after an engagement of more than two hours the Vryheid, which had by this time lost all her masts, being greatly damaged in her hull also, and having her decks crowded with the dying and the dead, struck her colours. The vice-admiral's flag-ship, which surrendered to admiral Onslow, was also dismasted; and these, with three of sixty-eight guns, two of sixty-four, two of fifty-six, and two vessels of inferior force, were taken possession of by the English.

In the mean time rear-admiral Story, who commanded in the centre, instead of supporting his gallant commander, fled for the Texel in the States General of seventy-four guns, with part of his division, at the beginning of the action; and afterwards, under pretence of having saved part of the fleet, made a merit of his conduct. This circumstance, in all probability, proved exceedingly fortunate for the English, as the remainder of the Dutch ships fought with uncommon gallantry; and many have been of opinion that had they been assisted by the second in command, this action might have exhibited but too close a resemblance to that fought off the Dogger Bank during the American war.

Happily however, on the contrary, it proved one of the most brilliant and decisive engagements recorded in our annals, nearly two thirds of the enemy's line-of-battle ships having been captured: nor was it less memorable for the spirit of enterprise which distinguished the English commander; the greater part of his fleet at the conclusion of the engagement being in only nine fathoms water, within five miles of the enemy's coast, and exposed to the danger of a lee shore.

The votes of both houses of parliament greeted the arrival of the gallant sailors; many of the captains were gratified by medals; the veteran admiral was rewarded by the king with the dignity of viscount Camperdown, and a pension of three thousand pounds per annum; while vice-admiral Onslow was created a baronet, and the captains Trollope and Fairfax

knights bannerets. Captain Williamson of the Agincourt was, however, tried by a court-martial soon after his return, and dismissed from the command of that ship.

In the course of the summer, Cadiz was twice bombarded by the fleet under lord St. Vincent. This enterprise was conducted by rear-admiral Nelson, and the Thunderer bomb stationed during the night under his management, within two thousand five hundred yards of the walls; on which the Spaniards sent out a great number of mortar and gun boats, and launches, but they were attacked, dispersed, and obliged to return. On this occasion a singular combat took place between Don Miguel Tyrason, who led this armament, and the gallant officer afterwards destined to distinguish himself and his country on the coast of Egypt; the former having laid the admiral's boat along side, in which position his barge remained until eighteen out of twenty-six of his own crew were killed, and he himself and the remainder wounded. Nor was the British commander exempt from danger; for a captain* who accompanied him was hurt, and his coxswain † received a shot while defending his person during an engagement in which six of the English were killed, and about two hundred and twenty wounded.

A second bombardment took place in the course of a few days, which produced considerable effect on the town, and perhaps also in a small degree annoyed the shipping; ten sail of the line, among which were the flag-ships of the admirals Mazzaredo and Gravina, being obliged to warp out of the range of shells. Another operation of a similar kind, meditated soon after, was prevented on account of the weather; and it is to be hoped during future contests, which will probably be carried on with less rancour, that undertakings of this kind, when productive of no determinate public advantage, will be declined, as they tend only to add to the calamities, without shortening the duration, of war, and inevitably produce the misery, ruin, and death of a multitude of unoffending individuals.

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* Freemantle. † Sykes.

On the whole, the naval campaign of this year afforded abundant cause for triumph; as two memorable victories, the bombardment of one and the blockade of all the enemy's principal ports, added to the capture of their merchantmen, and the acquisition of five sail of the line from Spain and nine from Holland, sufficiently testify.

Nor ought it to be omitted, that although the French were averse from appearing at sea, a seventy-four-gun ship* of that nation was engaged, chased, and drove ashore near Penmarks, after a running fight of sixteen hours and a half, by sir Edward Pellew, in the Indefatigable of forty-four, and captain Reynolds, in the Amazon of thirty-six guns; while several frigates and sloops of war appertaining to the directory either experienced a similar fate, or were conducted in triumph to the British ports.

## CHAP. V.

*Expeditions against the Colonies of France and Spain—Descent in Wales.*

ENGLAND still continued to carry on a destructive war against the distant settlements of the French republic, the commerce of which was by this time completely annihilated both in the East and West Indies. All her factories on the continent of Asia had been long since ruined; and it appeared, from a dispatch received during the spring, that Foul Point in Madagascar, the only remaining settlement in the Eastern seas except the Mauritius, had been captured by the Crescent, Braave, and Sceptre, belonging to rear-admiral Pringle's squadron, towards the end of the former year†.

* Les Droits d'Homme.

† Translation of a letter from Mons. Rasselin, resident at Foul Point, to captain Spranger, containing the terms for the surrender of that settlement.

Another colony, of much more importance, was also subjected to the dominion of Great Britain in another hemisphere, at the beginning of the present year.

On the surrender of St. Lucia, lieutenant-general Abercromby determined to invade Trinidad, a large island thinly inhabited, but supposed capable of great improvement. The troops intended for this expedition were accordingly embarked at Martinico, under the protection of a small squadron* commanded by rear-admiral Henry Harvey. After steering between Cariacou and Grenada, the armament sailed towards the gulph of Paria, and on passing through the great Bocas channel discovered a Spanish squadron, consisting of four ships of the line and a frigate, commanded by rear-admiral don Sebastian Ruiz de Apodoca, at anchor in Shagaramus bay, under cover of the island of Gaspargrande, which was well fortified.

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"Sir,

"Having been summoned by you to surrender this settlement, I am to acquaint you, that the superior force you have brought against it renders all resistance on my part useless; I have therefore to desire, before I lower the French colours, that you will cause a few guns, unshotted, to be fired at the place, which I will answer in the same manner, and then the three-coloured flag shall be hauled down: but I must repeat my desire that no shot may be fired by you, lest any mischief or alarm should be occasioned to the natives.

"Rasselin."

"*Foul Point, Island of Madagascar, 12th Frimaire, Fifth year of the French republic.*

"These articles, proposed by Mons. Rasselin, agent for the republic of France at Foul Point, island of Madagascar, are agreed to by

"J. W. Spranger,

"*Captain of his Majesty's ship Crescent, and senior officer of his Majesty's forces at Foul Point.*"

"Witness, D. Walker."

* This consisted of the Prince of Wales the flag ship, the Bellona, Vengeance, Scipio, Favourite, Zephyr, Terror bomb, and some transports.

The English commander anchored in order of battle, within random shot of the enemy's ships and batteries, to prevent the flight of the former during the night, which was now fast approaching; but early in the morning the whole were discovered to be on fire, one only of seventy-four guns excepted, which luckily escaped the conflagration, and was towed out by the boats of the fleet*.

In the mean time the troops, having been landed about three miles from the town, under the direction of captain Woolley of the royal navy, covered by the Favourite sloop, advanced against port D'Espange, which, as well as two forts, was seized upon with little or no opposition, a lieutenant being the only person wounded. In the course of the ensuing morning, the governor, don Josef Maria Chacon, agreed to a capitulation, by which he delivered up the island to Great Britain, and surrendered himself and troops prisoners of war†.

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* List of Spanish ships of war, burnt and captured in Shagaramus bay, in the gulph of Paria, February 17, 1797:

| | *Guns.* | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. San Vincenta, burnt, | 84 | Rear-admiral don Sebastian Ruiz de Apodoca. Capt. John Gerorimo Mendoza. |
| 2. Gallardo, ditto - | 74 | Don Gabriel Sorondo. |
| 3. Arrogante, ditto, - | 74 | Don Raphael Benasa. |
| 4. Santa Cecilia, ditto, | 36 | Don Manuel Utresabel. |
| 5. San Damaso, captured | 74 | Don Josef Jordan. |

† On his return to Spain the governor was disgraced, but the admiral experienced great attention from the court. The latter on being asked by admiral Harvey why he had burnt the greater part of his squadron, replied that he had received instructions from his court to that purpose, and that a Spanish commander had been formerly put to death for neglect of duty on a similar situation.

"Articles of Capitulation, for the surrender of the island of Trinidad, between his excellency sir Ralph Abercromby, K. B. commander in chief of his Britannic majesty's land forces; his excellency Henry Harvey, esq. rear-admiral of the red, and commander in chief of his Britannic majesty's ships and vessels of war; and his excellency don Josef Maria Chacon, knight of the order of Calatrava, brigadier of the royal navy, governor and commander in chief of the island of Trinidad and

THE want of sufficient information and an adequate force, occasioned the failure of two other expeditions. On the re-

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its dependencies, inspector-general of the troops of its garrison, &c. &c. &c.

" Article I. The officers and troops of his Catholic majesty and his allies in the island of Trinidad are to surrender themselves prisoners of war, and are to deliver up the territory, forts, buildings, arms, ammunition, money, effects, plans, and stores, with exact inventories thereof, belonging to his Catholic majesty; and they are hereby transferred to his Britannic majesty, in the same manner and possession as has been held heretofore by his said Catholic majesty.

" II. The troops of his Catholic majesty are to march out with the honours of war, and to lay down their arms at the distance of three hundred paces from the forts they occupy, at five o'clock this evening, the 18th of February.

" III. All the officers and troops aforesaid of his Catholic majesty are allowed to keep their private effects, and the officers are allowed to wear their swords.

" IV. Admiral don Sebastian Ruiz de Apodoca, being on shore in the island, after having burnt and abandoned his ships, he, with the officers and men belonging to the squadron under his command, are included in this capitulation, under the same terms as are granted to his Catholic majesty's troops.

" V. As soon as ships can be conveniently provided for the purpose, the prisoners are to be conveyed to Old Spain; they remaining prisoners of war until exchanged by a cartel between the two nations, or until the peace; it being clearly understood that they shall not serve against Great Britain or her allies until exchanged.

" VI. There being some officers among his Catholic majesty's troops, whose private affairs require their presence at different places on the continent of America, such officers are permitted to go upon their parole to the said places for six months, more or less; after which period they are to return to Europe: but as the number receiving this indulgence must be limited, his excellency don Chacon will previously deliver to the British commanders a list of their names, rank, and the places to which they are going.

" VII. The officers of the royal administration, upon the delivery of the stores with which they are charged, to such officers as may be appointed by the British commanders, will receive receipts, according to the custom in like cases, from the officers so appointed to receive the stores.

" VIII. All the private property of the inhabitants, as well Spaniards as such as may have been naturalized, is preserved to them.

duction of Trinidad, it was conceived that the large and valuable island of Porto Rico, might be easily wrested from the dominion of Spain. Admiral Harvey and sir Ralph Abercromby having accordingly determined to make the attempt, the squadron, which found no small difficulty in procuring pilots and guides, sailed from Martinico, and after a short passage anchored off Congrejos Point. Although the whole of the north side of the island is bounded by a reef, a narrow channel was at length discovered, about three leagues to the eastward of the town; through this the Beaver and Fury sloops,

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"IX. All public records are to be preserved in such courts or offices as they are now in; and all contracts or purchases between individuals, which have been done according to the laws of Spain, are to be held binding and valid by the British government.

"X. The Spanish officers of administration, who are possessed of landed property in Trinidad, are allowed to remain in the island, they taking the oaths of allegiance to his Britannic majesty; and they are further allowed, should they please, to sell or dispose of their property, and to retire elsewhere.

"XI. The free exercise of their religion is allowed to the inhabitants.

"XII. The free coloured people, who have been acknowledged as such by the laws of Spain, shall be protected in their liberty, persons, and property, like other inhabitants; they taking the oath of allegiance, and demeaning themselves as becomes good and peaceable subjects of his Britannic majesty.

"XIII. The sailors and soldiers of his Catholic majesty are, from the time of their laying down their arms, to be fed by the British government, leaving the expence to be regulated by the cartel between the two nations.

"XIV. The sick of the Spanish troops will be taken care of, but to be attended by, and to be under the inspection of their own surgeons.

"XV. All the inhabitants of Trinidad shall, within thirty days from the date hereof, take the oath of allegiance to his Britannic majesty, to demean themselves quietly and faithfully to his government, upon pain, in case of non-compliance, of being sent away from the island.

"Done at Port d'Espagne, in the island of Trinidad, the 18th day of February, 1797.

"RALPH ABERCROMBY.
"HENRY HARVEY.
"JOSEPH MARIA CHACON."

with other vessels of small draught, passed into a bay, on the shore of which the English troops effected a landing. After experiencing a slight opposition from about a hundred of the enemy who were concealed in the bushes, the detachment advanced in the afternoon of the same day, and seized on a post extremely favourable to a small force, the two flanks being protected, one by the sea, and the other by a lagoon.

The artillery was then brought up, and the necessary preparations made for an attack on the town, which is situated upon a small island; but it was soon discovered, that as the Moro castle commanded the passage into the harbour, the enemy could keep open a free communication with the southern and western parts of the settlement, and as they were in possession of a number of gun-boats, they might greatly annoy the left flank of the invaders. A multitude of other obstacles also presented themselves: for although the place might be assaulted with some probability of success on the eastern side, which was however defended by the castle and lines of St. Christopher, yet it was first necessary for the English to force their way across the lagoon; and as the bridge which connected the island with the main was destroyed, and the pass defended by armed vessels and redoubts, the attempt was deemed hazardous, more especially as the Spaniards, from the number of their cannon, could open a fire far superior to that of the besiegers. The troops were therefore embarked during the night, with the greatest order and regularity; and although it was found necessary to abandon a few iron guns, mortars, and howitzers, which were considered as unserviceable, this loss was fully counterbalanced by four brass field-pieces captured from the enemy, which were transported on board the fleet.

Another expedition of nearly a similar kind, and likely at one period to be attended by still more disastrous circumstances, took place in a different quarter, and is well calculated to shew that valour alone is not sufficient for the conduct of great enterprises. The commander in chief of the squadron stationed off Cadiz, having received intelligence that one of the Spanish islands on the coast of Africa was vulnerable, conceived the idea of an expedition which if successful

would have obtained for him additional glory, and rendered Great Britain mistress, for a time at least, of the wines and fruits with which the Canaries abound. He accordingly detached rear-admiral Nelson in the Theseus, with eight sail of men-of-war*. On the arrival of this armament, a body of men, including one thousand marines, was landed under the direction of captain Trowbridge of the Culloden, assisted by the captains Hood, Thompson, Freemantle, Bowen, Miller, and Waller, who volunteered their services upon this occasion.

Having obtained possession of the town of Santa Cruz, after a long and vigorous resistance, an attack was made on the neighbouring fort: but the strength of the place not having been previously ascertained, an unexpected degree of opposition ensued; and this being followed by an ineffectual attempt to carry the batteries by assault during the night, an immediate retreat became necessary. But an unfortunate event rendered even this impracticable; for on repairing to the beach, the English found most of their boats destroyed by the violence of the surf.

In the mean time the governor, having assembled all the force of the island, marched in pursuit of the enemy, and summoned them to surrender, but their commander gallantly refused to capitulate. On this the Spaniard, actuated as has been reported by sentiments of Castilian honour, and but little anxious perhaps to retain such troublesome visitors, entered into a negociation, and not only furnished the invaders with the means of repairing on board their respective ships, but actually supplied them with refreshments. The loss sustained upon this occasion was unhappily great; for forty-four privates were killed, one hundred and five wounded, ninety-seven drowned, and five unaccounted for. Captain Richard Bowen of the Terpsichore, and six lieutenants of the navy and marines, lost their lives; captain Thompson of the Leander, captain Freemantle of the Seahorse, a lieutenant, and a

* The squadron consisted of the Theseus, Culloden, Zealous, Seahorse, Emerald, Terpsichore, and Fox cutter; the Leander joined soon after.

midshipman, were wounded, and the rear-admiral himself lost his right arm in this unfortunate exploit*.

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* The following intercepted letter, never before published, perhaps throws some light on the immediate object of the expedition; but it ought to be read with caution, as it is evidently the production of some person attached to the interests of Spain.

"*St. Cruz, Teneriffe, the 4th August*, 1797.

"On the 22d July last, an English squadron appeared off this port, at about four o'clock in the morning, and at ten a number of troops and seamen were landed from the different ships, at the foot of the hills situated on the north. This landing was protected by three of their Frigates, which anchored about two or three miles from the nearest fort. Soon after these men were seen climbing up one of the highest hills, and encamping in three different places; viz. on the top, at the half-way, and a little lower down.

"On seeing this operation, the Spaniards sent a strong detachment to occupy the hill opposite, which defends the town, and prevent their advancing towards one of our principal forts. Soon after, the cannonade began between the two small armies, for they both had field-pieces, and it never ceased until the English re-embarked, which they did the following night; on the 23d early in the morning, the three frigates stood out with the ships, and all that day did nothing but tack about.

"On the 24th they were much to leeward, but working the whole day, they came to an anchor about five o'clock in the evening, in the same birth the frigates had been before: at about seven the bomb-ketch began to throw shells into a strong fort at the north side of the town, to which the Spaniards answered by a heavy cannonade and a few shells. At a quarter after two in the morning, the fire increased, and the alarm guns announced to us the approach of the enemy; and then a great number of boats were seen crossing to the south part of the town, and landing men. From the moment these boats were perceived, an incessant fire of grape-shot was directed towards them, which proved to be effectual in disordering their debarkation. Their boats were entirely crushed to pieces on the beach, several were obliged to desist from landing, a great number of men were killed, wounded, or drowned, and a cutter which was approaching, laden with men and ammunition of all kinds, was sunk by the battery, and scarcely any body saved. This reception decided the victory; for the troops which had landed, although they acted bravely, and sustained, especially at the moment of their landing and some time after in the streets, the heaviest fire of musquetry and light artillery from our gar-

The war in St. Domingo still raged with unabated violence; the English on one hand, and the negroes and mulattoes on the other, contending for superiority with an unexampled degree of enmity. An alternate series of good and bad fortune, as usual, characterised the campaigns in this portion of the globe: but both proved equally disastrous to Great Britain; for every defeat required fresh supplies of wealth to

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rison, were so much harassed on all sides, and at last surrounded in such a manner, that they were obliged to demand a capitulation. This, after some difficulties, was agreed to on the following terms: that the troops and seamen belonging to his Britannic majesty should re-embark with their arms, and their boats be returned, if saved, or such others provided as should be wanted for their re-embarkation; in consideration of which they bound themselves on their part, that the British squadron now before this port should not molest it, nor any other of the Canaries, and that prisoners should be returned on both sides.

"The English, according to the reports of the officers, and the summons they sent the governor whilst they were in the town, only wished to make themselves masters of the king's money, supposed to be detained here to a considerable amount on account of the blockade of Cadiz, and of the cargo of a Manilla ship, which they imagined to be a Lima ship worth ten or twelve millions. The loss of men was considerable on the side of the English; the officers mentioned it to be above five hundred, among which were several officers: the famous and brave captain Bowen also fell in the action; admiral Nelson lost his right arm; and captain Thompson, of the Leander, was severely wounded. The action lasted four hours. The loss of the Spaniards is twenty-three killed, two officers included, and thirty-one wounded. This squadron was detached from the Cadiz fleet, and consisted of the following ships:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Theseus, - - | 74 | Rear-admiral Nelson. Capt. R. W. Miller. |
| Culloden, - - | 74 | Capt. Trowbridge. |
| Zealous, - - | 74 | Capt. Samuel Hood. |
| Leander, - - | 50 | Capt. Thompson. |
| Emerald, - - | 44 | Capt. Waller. |
| Sea-Horse, - - | 32 | Capt. Freemantle. |
| Terpsichore, - | 36 | Capt. Bowen. |
| Fox cutter, - - | 14 | Capt. Gibson. |

And a bomb ketch."

repair the recent loss, while the most trifling triumph seemed to justify new demands upon an exhausted treasury, to improve the advantages resulting from victory. It appears however upon the whole, that the influence of England in that quarter was upon the decline, and the directory, from the recent successes of the people of colour, began already to anticipate the final result*.

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* Message from the Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, on the 5th of June.

" Citizens Representatives,

" The last dispatches from St. Domingo, transmitted to the council of Five Hundred, announced that dispositions were made for a general attack in the north of St. Domingo. That attack has taken place: the English and the emigrants were beaten at all points. At Oualaminthe, Sans-souci, Valliere, Le Perches, Sainte-Susanna, Les Montes Organizeis, La Grande Riviere, and many other places that they have been obliged to abandon, they have felt what republican valour can do; what those men are capable of who passionately adore liberty, who are armed only for liberty, and who are determined never to lay down their arms till liberty be out of danger.

" General Desfourneaux commanded in chief the army of the north of St. Domingo. He was powerfully seconded by Toussaint Louverture, general of division; by Pierre Michali, general of Brigade; and by Grandet, Christopher, and Moise, also chiefs of brigade. In fact, if it were necessary to point out all those to whom the country owes the greatest obligations in the different actions, it would be necessary to name each of the twenty-eight thousand republicans who composed the French army.

" The letter of general Desfourneaux to the minister of marine, of which the Directory here subjoins a copy, will inform you, citizens representatives, that the most perfect tranquillity now reigns in the north of St. Domingo. This tranquillity is the fruit of the prudence, the moderation, and the generosity, of that victorious army, which, in every respect, has shewn itself worthy of the same praises as our republican armies of Europe, who have been its models.

" The Directory subjoins also to this message, a copy of the military operations of the republican army of the north at St. Domingo, from the 9th to the 27th Ventose.

" No official accounts have been received from the colonies of a later date; but the English and French newspapers which have been sent by citizen Rozier, consul at New York, so much agree with respect to the different facts contained therein, that

On the other hand, the British ministry had been for some time in search of an officer calculated by professional knowledge to defend the acquisitions in St. Domingo, and disinterested enough from principle to restrain peculation and abuse. Such a man was at length found in the person of general Simcoe, who landed under great disadvantages; for in the first place, he brought no reinforcement with him, and in the second he found the attachment of the royalists considerably cooled in consequence of the negociations of lord Malmsbury, by the publication of which they had learned that the French islands were offered as a boon for peace. He however found means, notwithstanding the daily decrease of his troops and the growing unpopularity of the English name, to foil Toussaint before St. Mark, to recapture Miraballaïs, to storm the forts of Le Boutilliere and St. Lawrent, and to prevent Rigaud, a gallant mulatto chief, from obtaining possession of Irois.

After a residence of five months, the general returned, and proposed to subjugate the whole island, provided he obtained a sufficient supply of men; but by this time the French had become so formidable in Europe, the negroes in arms were so numerous, and the expences required for such an undertaking, even on the most economical scale, appeared to be so enormous, that the ministers were fully justified in totally abandoning a project on which immense sums had

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it appears certain, that on the 22d Floreal the brave Toussaint Louverture surrounded Port-au-Prince, after having captured Miraballaïs, taken possession of the camps and forts of the Buisson and Rodrillon, and dispersed the English and emigrant troops commanded by M. Dessource and M. le Baron de Montalembert: more than a thousand of the enemy were killed and made prisoners in this affair.

"The letter from the consul at New York, dated 3d Prairial, is couched in these words: 'Many private accounts received here from Port-au-Prince confirm, beyond a doubt, our success in St. Domingo. Consternation and horror reign at Port-au-Prince, and they talk of an immediate evacuation.'

(Signed) "Carnot, President.
"Lagarde, Sec. Gen."

been already lavished without the hope of any permanent advantage in return.

In the course of this summer, a third attempt was made by the British ministry to negociate with the French directory, and lord Malmsbury was again nominated ambassador; but neither this negociation, nor a similar one on the part of Portugal, proved successful.

In consequence of this new miscarriage, his majesty was pleased to publish a declaration, dated from Westminster, in which he detailed "his benevolent endeavours to restore to his people the blessings of a secure and honourable peace." After enumerating the obstacles constantly interposed by those who still direct the councils of France, it is stated that his minister had repaired to the Continent "furnished with the most ample powers, and instructed to communicate at once an explicit and detailed proposal and plan of peace, reduced into the shape of a regular treaty, just and moderate in its principles, embracing all the interests concerned, and extending to every object connected with the restoration of public tranquillity."

To this proceeding, "open and liberal beyond example," the conduct of his majesty's enemies opposes the most striking contrast; no counter-project has ever yet been received, and "no statement of the extent and nature of the conditions on which they would conclude any peace with these kingdoms, could be obtained."

"The points," it is added, "which, in pursuance of this system, the plenipotentiaries of the enemy proposed for separate discussion, in their first conferences with his majesty's minister, were at once frivolous and offensive; none of them productive of any solid advantage to France, but all calculated to raise new obstacles in the way of peace. And to these demands was soon after added another, in its form unprecedented, in its substance extravagant, and such as could originate only in the most determined and inveterate hostility. The principal of mutual compensation, before expressly admitted, by common consent, as the just and equitable basis of negociation, was now disclaimed; every idea of moderation or reason, every appearance of justice, was disregarded; and

a concession was required from his majesty's plenipotentiary, as a preliminary and indispensible condition, which must at once have superseded all the objects, and precluded all the means, of treating. France, after incorporating with her own dominions so large a portion of her conquests, and affecting to have deprived herself, by her own internal regulations, of the power of alienating these valuable additions of territory, did not scruple to demand from his majesty the absolute and unconditioned surrender of all that the energy of his people, and the valour of his fleets and armies, have conquered in the present war, either from France or from her allies. She required that the power of Great Britain should be confined within its former limits, at the very moment when her own dominion was extended to a degree almost unparalleled in history. She insisted, that, in proportion to the increase of danger, the means of resistance should be diminished; and that his majesty should give up, without compensation, and into the hands of his enemies, the necessary defences of his possessions and the future safeguards of his empire. Nor even was this demand brought forward as constituting the terms of peace, but the price of negociation; as the condition, on which alone his majesty was to be allowed to learn what further unexplained demands were still reserved, and to what greater sacrifices these unprecedented concessions of honour and safety were to lead."

After enumerating the outrages and insults committed in respect to the king's plenipotentiary, towards the conclusion of the conferences, the declaration ends thus:

"To France, to Europe, and to the world, it must be manifest, that the French government (while they persist in their present sentiments) leave his majesty without an alternative, unless he were prepared to surrender and sacrifice to the undisguised ambition of his enemies, the honour of his crown and the safety of his dominions. It must be manifest, that, instead of showing, on their part, any inclination to meet his majesty's pacific overtures on any moderate terms, they have never brought themselves to state any terms (however exorbitant) on which they were ready to conclude peace. They have asked as a preliminary (and in the form the most arrogant and

offensive) concessions which the comparative situation of the two countries would have rendered extravagant in any stage of negociation; which were directly contrary to their own repeated professions; and which, nevertheless, they peremptorily required to be complied with in the very outset; reserving an unlimited power of afterwards accumulating, from time to time, fresh demands, increasing in proportion to every new concession.

"On the other hand, the terms proposed by his majesty have been stated in the most clear, open, and unequivocal manner. The discussion of all the points to which they relate, or of any others which the enemy might bring forward as the terms of peace, has been, on his majesty's part, repeatedly called for, as often promised by the French plenipotentiaries, but to this day has never yet been obtained. The rupture of the negociation is not therefore to be ascribed to any pretensions (however inadmissible) urged as the price of peace; nor to any ultimate difference on terms, however exorbitant; but to the evident and fixed determination of the enemy to prolong the contest, and to pursue, at all hazards, their hostile designs against the prosperity and safety of these kingdoms.

"While this determination continues to prevail, his majesty's earnest wishes and endeavours to restore peace to his subjects must be fruitless. But his sentiments remain unaltered. He looks with anxious expectation to the moment when the government of France may shew a disposition, and spirit, in any degree corresponding to his own. And he renews, even now, and before all Europe, the solemn declaration, that, in spite of repeated provocations, and at the very moment when his claims have been strengthened and confirmed by that fresh success which, by the blessing of Providence, has recently attended his arms*, he is yet ready (if the calamities of war can now be closed) to conclude peace on the same moderate and equitable principles and terms which he has before proposed: the rejection of such terms

* Admiral Duncan's victory.

must now, more than ever, demonstrate the implacable animosity, and insatiable ambition, of those with whom he has to contend, and to them alone must the future consequences of the prolongation of the war be ascribed.

"If such unhappily is the spirit by which they are still actuated, his majesty can neither hesitate as to the principles of his own conduct, nor doubt the sentiments and determination of his people. He will not be wanting to them; and he is confident they will not be wanting to themselves. He has an anxious, but a sacred and indispensible duty to fulfil: he will discharge it with resolution, constancy, and firmness. Deeply as he must regret the continuance of a war, so destructive in its progress, and so burdensome even in its success, he knows the character of the brave people whose interests and honour are entrusted to him. These it is the first object of his life to maintain: and he is convinced, that neither the resources nor the spirit of his kingdoms will be found inadequate to this arduous contest, or unequal to the importance and value of the objects which are at stake. He trusts, that the favour of Providence, by which they have always hitherto been supported against all their enemies, will be still extended to them: and that, under this protection, his faithful subjects, by a resolute and vigorous application of the means which they possess, will be enabled to vindicate the independence of their country, and to resist, with just indignation, the assumed superiority of an enemy, against whom they have fought with the courage, and success, and glory, of their ancestors, and who aims at nothing less than to destroy, at once, whatever has contributed to the prosperity and greatness of the British empire; all the channels of its industry, and all the sources of its power; its security from abroad, its tranquillity at home, and, above all, that constitution, on which alone depends the undisturbed enjoyment of its religion, laws, and liberties."

The critical situation of the banks of London and Vienna*

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* "*Bank of England, Feb.* 27th, 1797.—In consequence of an order of his majesty's privy council notified to the bank last night, a copy of which is hereunto annexed;

"The governor, deputy governor, and directors of the bank

occasioned no small alarm in the course of this year, and a surprising coincidence must be allowed to have taken place, both in respect to the time, and circumstances; but the credit of the former evinced a wonderful degree of elasticity, and notwithstanding this ominous event, no bad effect whatsoever appears to have hitherto ensued.

In the mean time, Great Britain being the only country now either at war with or formidable to the French common-

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of England, think it their duty to inform the proprietors of bank stock, as well as the public at large, that the general concerns of the bank are in the most affluent and prosperous situation, and such as to preclude every doubt as to the security of its notes. The directors mean to continue their usual discounts for the accommodation of the commercial interest, paying the amount in bank notes, and the dividend-warrants will be paid in the same manner.

"FRANCIS MARTIN, Secretary."

"At the council chamber, Whitehall, Feb. 26, 1797. By the lords of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

"Present, the lord chancellor, lord president, duke of Portland, marquis Cornwallis, earl Spencer, earl of Liverpool, lord Grenville, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.

"Upon the representation of the chancellor of the Exchequer, stating, that from the result of the information which he has received, and of the enquiries which it has been his duty to make, respecting the effect of the unusual demands for specie, that have been made upon the metropolis, in consequence of the ill-founded or exaggerated alarms in different parts of the country, it appears that, unless some measure is immediately taken, there may be reason to apprehend a want of a sufficient supply of cash to answer the exigencies of the public service: It is the unanimous opinion of the board, that it is indispensibly necessary for the public service, that the directors of the bank of England should forbear issuing any cash in payment, until the sense of parliament can be taken on that subject, and the proper measures adopted thereon, for maintaining the means of circulation, and supporting the public and commercial credit of the kingdom at this important conjuncture. And it is ordered, that a copy of this minute be transmitted to the directors of the bank of England; and they are hereby required, on the grounds of the exigency of the case, to conform thereto until the sense of parliament can be taken as aforesaid.

(Signed) "W. FAWKENER."

wealth, the eyes of the directory appeared to be averted from every other object. After conquering so many kings, they insolently proclaimed that the safety of the republic was endangered, so long as its government existed, and idly menaced the independence of the empire, by ordering troops to be assembled on the coasts of the Channel, under the name of "the army of England;" while, as if to add some weight to their impotent resolves, they declared that the "conqueror of Italy" was appointed to the command.

A MOST extraordinary and ridiculous attempt at an invasion was accordingly made early in the present year; not indeed as had been often predicted, by means of a formidable fleet, but with a naval force so contemptible, and a body of troops so utterly disproportionate to the object, that those who planned derived but little credit from this ill-judged enterprise.

A SMALL squadron, consisting of two frigates, a sloop of war, or corvette, and a lugger, having appeared in the British channel, soon after disembarked about fourteen hundred men near Fish-guard, on the coast of Pembrokeshire. Immediately on receiving intimation of this event, the Welsh peasantry flew to arms, and attacked the enemy before any troops could be assembled, while all the gentlemen of the county and its neighbourhood displayed the most active loyalty and zeal. As the invaders neither possessed cannon, nor

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"Vienna Court Gazette.—Whereas an unusual demand has been made on the bank for cash, in exchange for its notes, either by selfish and avaricious persons, or such as harbour malicious designs against the state, his Imperial majesty, from his fatherly care for his people, has been pleased to order that from the 5th of April instant, the following regulations shall be adopted, until, by the assistance of Divine Providence, a change of circumstances, speedily to be hoped, may take place, which shall restore the former order of things."

These regulations consist in ordering that, on the usual days of payment, bank notes shall be exchanged for smaller; and small sums of cash, from five to twenty-five florins, be given, if required:

That these notes shall be paid by all public offices, in all payments of the public debts, pensions, or interest, with small

any of that martial ardour which had hitherto so conspicuously distinguished their countrymen, their commander in the course of the next day transmitted a letter* addressed to the first British officer that could be met with, and immediately surrendered himself and followers.

It has since been discovered, that the persons embarked in this expedition were galley-slaves, who had been liberated on condition of serving in Italy; but the veteran soldiers having declared that they would neither dishonour themselves nor their cause by a communion with such associates, they were sent to England. This measure was afterwards loudly censured as both weak and contemptible in the council of ancients.

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sums in ready money, to a certain amount, if required:

These notes shall be received, at their full value, in all payments of taxes or other dues to the public treasury, throughout the whole of the hereditary states of Hungary, Bohemia, Gallicia, and Austria.

Justice and the good of the state require that they should be received at their full value, as ready cash, in all private payments, and in all the transactions of commerce, under the guarantee of the government.

* "*Cardigan Bay, 5th of Ventose, 5th year of the republic.*

"Sir,

"The circumstances under which the body of French troops commanded by me were landed at this place, render it unnecessary to attempt any military operations, as they would tend only to bloodshed and pillage.

"The officers of the whole corps have therefore intimated their desire of entering into a negociation, upon principles of humanity, for a surrender.

"If you are influenced by similar considerations, you may signify the same by the bearer, and in the mean time hostilities shall cease.

"Health and respect,

"Tate,
"Chef de brigade."

"*To the officer commanding his Britannic majesty's troops.*"

## CHAP. VI.

*Congress of Rastadt—The French declare War against and overcome the Pope—Proclamation of the Roman Republic.*

THE conclusion of the treaty of Campo Formio afforded well-founded hopes to France, of acquiring a solid and an advantageous peace; but these were completely blasted by the disputes that took place in the directorial cabinet, the exile of two of its ablest members*, and the folly and incapacity of those to whom was entrusted the management of the republic. Appearances, however, seemed at first to augur a final adjustment of contending claims and clashing pretensions; a short respite from war actually took place, and it was presumed, that on the continent of Europe at least, a series of public tranquillity would succeed a long and bloody strife.

THIS eventful year was accordingly ushered in by the congress of Rastadt, in which it was proposed to discuss and settle all the disputes between the French republic and the empire. As the head of the Germanic body, in his capacity of king of Hungary and Bohemia, had already acceded to the demands of the directory, to render the Rhine the boundary of the commonwealth, and surrender Ehrenbreitstein and Mentz, it was imagined that but few difficulties were likely to occur, and that the system of sacrifices and indemnities might be speedily adjusted.

BUT as the principal powers of Europe were as yet irresolute respecting their future conduct towards France, and after a vain attempt to subdue, had become justly jealous of a colossal power which might enable the republic to act, in her turn, the part of an oppressor, the negociations were spun out with all the art and intricacy of diplomatic intrigue. Although Bonaparte himself appeared for a time in the character of a plenipotentiary, yet this general found it far easier to vanquish a hostile army, than unloose the gordian knot tied by the chicanery of a few statesmen. He accordingly retired

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* Carnot and Barthelemy.

in disgust, bent on enterprises better suited to the ardent temperament of his mind, and left the dry details relative to acquisitions arising out of his own victories, to men possessed of that phlegm and patience but seldom found in, and which perhaps are unsuitable to, the genius of a conqueror.

While this assembly was coldly discussing the terms of a pacification so intimately connected with the prosperity of the continent, the theocracy which had governed a considerable part of Italy, and regulated the creed of a lage portion of mankind for ages, ceased to exist. The French revolution had already diminished the revenues and jurisdiction of the sovereign pontiff; and the fluctuating conduct of the holy father, added to the prospect of a rich booty in the patrimony of St. Peter, once more aroused the ambition of the directory, and the vengeance of its victorious army; which had only been suspended for a while by the treaty of Tolentino, and the surrender of some of the most fertile provinces appertaining to the see of Rome.

Instead of crouching to the storm like his more politic predecessors, Braschi, although now destitute of troops, of allies, and even of the reverence arising out of public opinion, seemed at times to brave his destiny; and the triple crown which had so long tottered on the head of this feeble ecclesiastic, fell prostrate on the ground at the first shock of arms.

The murder of the French minister Basseville, in the capital, and almost under the eyes of Pius VI. had, at a former period, excited the indignation of the convention; and the directory now found but too fair a pretext in the assassination of Duphot*, one of its generals, and the insult committed within the precincts of the palace of its ambassador. Joseph Bonaparte, after a lapse of fourteen hours, finding that no measures had been taken to avenge the late outrage, or provide for the security of his own person in future, retired into

* Duphot was an adjutant-general, and chef de brigade in the service of the French republic. Having repaired to Rome, towards the latter end of 1797, expressly for the purpose of espousing that sister of Bonaparte, who was afterwards married to general Murat, he became one of the victims of the commotion which took place there on the 28th of December.

Tuscany; and the Roman government, alarmed at the event, instead of punishing the guilty, authorised the marquis Massimi, its agent at Paris, to demand the degree and nature of the satisfaction required by the French nation: but so favourable an opportunity was not to be let slip; and that city, which had been conquered with great difficulty by one Frenchman†, at a former period, was now seized upon by another at the present, without resistance.

The Cisalpine republic took the lead upon this occasion. This new and formidable neighbour, indignant at the tardy recognition of its independence, had recurred to the doubtful times of king Pepin and pope Stephen III. for the purpose of founding certain claims to the marquisate of Ancona and the duchy of Urbino. But not content with memorials and remonstrances on this subject, the new commonwealth had recourse to arms; and while it threatened, on one hand, to withdraw from the pawn-banks of Rome the sums lodged there by its citizens while under the dominion of the house of Austria, a body of troops marched into the disputed territory and obtained possession of Santo Leone by storm.

No sooner were the murder of Duphot, and the retreat of Joseph Bonaparte, made public at Milan, than the people exclaimed, "Death to the assassin pontiff! Vengeance for our deliverers!" Troops were immediately levied, artillery prepared, and a declaration published, in which the fall of Rome was confidently predicted, and the late events not only detailed, but aggravated: Soon shall that Tiber," it was said, "which is stained with the blood of our brethren; that capitol inhabited by murderous priests; that field of Mars, which blushes while trodden by a nation of slaves; be purified from

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The mob having repaired to the ambassador's palace, exclaiming "Long live the French republic!" a body of the military was sent thither to chastise them; and while Duphot advanced along with Joseph Bonaparte and the adjutant-general Sterloch, to put an end to the affray which had taken place in a front court, he was shot by a corporal, and his body, having been dragged into the streets, was insulted by the populace.

† The duke de Bourbon.

the accumulated crimes and ignominy of twenty centuries of servitude!"

On the other hand, all the mummeries of an antiquated superstition were recurred to, on purpose to ward off the threatened destruction: frequent processions took place; holy relics were exhibited, and plenary indulgencies granted: even miracles were wrought; and the immaculate virgin, under the guidance of the monks, was seen to open her eyes and shed tears! These proceedings were singularly and even fantastically contrasted with the lampoons, epigrams, and threats, of those who assumed the appellation of patriots; and that they might not be outdone in whatever approximated to the marvellous, care was taken on their part to obtain the assistance of a prophetess*, who, amidst the paroxisms of inspiration, declared that the empire of the pope was drawing near to a close, and that she herself would soon behold the accomplishment of her own prediction.

Nor was this fanatical female mistaken; for general Berthier, in consequence of instructions from Paris, had already collected a body of French troops, and, being joined by a column of Cisalpines, advanced to Ancona. While his further progress was retarded for a time by the snows of the Appennines, he announced his speedy approach by means of a proclamation, and, on entering Rome, declared it to be his sole object "to chastise, in the murderers of the brave Duphot, the same persons who had imbrued their hands in the blood of the unfortunate Basseville, and forgotten the respect which they owed to the ambassador of the French republic:" he concluded with the most solemn assurance, "that such of the Roman people as had not participated in these deeds of horror should, in the French army, find friends and protectors."

The castle of St. Angelo, containing the pope and the greater part of the college of cardinals, having surrendered on the first summons, the inhabitants, now released from restraint by the captivity of their rulers, and encouraged by the

* She was a French woman, called madame Le Brousse.

protection of the French army, which had however declined to enter within the walls, assembled in the Campo Vaccino, a place peculiarly appropriate for their designs, as it was the *Forum* of ancient Rome ; and at the instigation of two of the nobles, and an advocate of some reputation, planted the tree of liberty in front of the capitol, proclaimed their independence, and instituted the Roman republic. The first act of sovereign authority was a manifesto* in the name of the people, detailing the reasons that had induced them to change the form of their government. It was stated, that, in consequence of the long and rigorous oppressions of the sacerdotal government, they had often before attempted to shake off the yoke, but that until now all their efforts had been rendered useless by a combination of force and superstition. At length the government having crumbled to pieces, to avoid the horrors of anarchy they had formed a new constitution, and now solemnly declared to Europe and to the universe, that they had not participated in any of the crimes committed against the French nation.

It was added, that the temporal power, hitherto exercised in the name of the pope, was in future to be entrusted to magistrates elected by the people ; that henceforth five consuls should be invested with the authority formerly exercised by the congregation of state ; and that the inferior offices should be managed by prefects and ediles.

On receiving intelligence of this event, Berthier, who had just refused to receive a deputation from his holiness, under pretence "that the ancient government no longer existed," announced to the pope, by means of general Cervoni, "that the people had resumed the sovereignty." He then entered the city, preceded by the music and grenadiers of his army ; and, having arrived at the capitol, pronounced an harangue, in which he invoked the manes of the Catos, the Pompeys, the Ciceros, and all the great men of antiquity, to attest the solemn scene exhibited in that spot, where they themselves had so often defended the rights of the citizens, and shed lustre on the Roman republic.

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* Atto del Popolo Sovrano.

"THE descendants of the Gauls!" said he, "have come with the olive of peace in their hands, to rebuild the altars of liberty erected by the first Brutus. And you, people of Rome! who have now recovered your ancient rights, recollect that blood which flows in your veins; survey these monuments of glory, by which you are surrounded; resume your pristine greatness, and emulate the virtues of your ancestors!"

ALL the splendor and magnificence of which the catholic worship is susceptible were employed to celebrate this great victory over the head of its faith; every church in Rome resounded with thanks to the Supreme Disposer of events, for the glorious revolution that had taken place; and while the dome of St. Peter was illuminated without, fourteen cardinals, dressed in the gorgeous apparel appertaining to functions they were soon after fated to abdicate, presided at a solemn Te Deum within the walls of that superb basilic. To appease the vengeance of France and the manes of Duphot, orders were given to celebrate a festival in honour of his memory; at the moment the unwilling priesthood were forced to chaunt a solemn dirge, the consecrated urn which enclosed his ashes was deposited in the capitol, and a grand mausoleum, decorated with appropriate inscriptions, surrounded by cypress trees, and illuminated with funeral torches, erected in front of the Vatican.

## CHAP. VII.

*The Directory sends an Army into Switzerland—Situation of that Country—Capture of the Town of Berne—Cruel War waged against the democratical Cantons.*

AFTER exciting the jealousy of Austria, and alarming all the remaining states of Italy by the subjugation of Rome, the directory seemed to look around for new enemies to encounter, and new countries to subdue. At the very moment when the French plenipotentiaries were endeavouring to accelerate the dull forms of German diplomacy by the most solemn assurances that the government panted for tranquillity, a war

was suddenly declared against Switzerland, the thirteen federate republics of which, after a peace that had lasted for ages, were now condemned to experience all the horrors of the most rancorous hostility.

In the intercourse of neighbouring nations, it is not difficult either to find or occasion pretexts for complaint. The Swiss, attached from habit and interest to monarchical, were decidedly averse from republican, France: the aristocratical states, in pursuance of the policy befitting an oligarchy, appeared to be terrified at the doctrine of political equality; the democratical, from the influence of the priesthood, dreaded the spread of principles subversive of that order. But if the cantons, considered in the light of sovereigns, detested the progress of those maxims of which they themselves appear to have given the first example in modern times, it was otherwise with the inhabitants of the countries recognised as their subjects. The natives of the Levantine valley had frequently rebelled against the tyranny of Uri; the burghers of Friburg had been actually besieged by their insurgent vassals; the people of the lower Vallais had more than once recurred to arms, to prevent the intolerable exactions of their neighbours who resided towards the summit of the mountain; the extortions of the bailiffs of Berne were become proverbial; and the ruling families in that canton, not content with the oppressions exercised against the districts it had subjected, were ever eager to enforce the authority of all the co-states, and thus exhibit frequent and salutary examples of unconditional submission.

It was chiefly against this canton that the directory possessed any well-founded complaints; as it had not only refused, during a considerable interval, to recognise the French republic, but countenanced the assembling of the emigrant army, obliged the French minister to leave Soleure, and notoriously violated its neutrality. Disdaining to profit by the lessons of experience, the leading Bernese determined to cherish their prejudices with increased inveteracy, and instead of meliorating, resolved to augment, the rigor of their sway. The inhabitants of the Pays de Vaud, who had long groaned under the fiscal exactions of the magistrates sent pe-

riodically to plunder them, felt a gleam of joy diffused through their breasts on receiving the first tidings of the great events that had taken place in Paris, and they even dared to solemnise the anniversary of the revolution. But this was considered by their oppressors as a decided mark of disloyalty, and some of them were condemned to death and imprisonment, while others escaped the sentence of an implacable tribunal by flight; however, both the exiles and the remaining inhabitants alike invoked the protection of France, which had become, in virtue of former treaties, the guarantee of their liberties, and a general insurrection soon demonstrated that they were determined to throw off the yoke. Thus Berne, while affecting to avoid novelties, by an obstinate and ill-timed persistance in those maxims which had regulated its councils during more than a century, laid the foundation, not only of its own subversion, but involved all the members of the confederacy in ruin.

But whatever might have been the original offences of the oligarchy at a period when the fall of the French republic appeared certain, some measures were taken to conciliate her good opinion the moment she had proved victorious; and although these advances might seem rather politic than sincere, it was, nevertheless, hoped that they would not prove altogether unavailing. But the late peace with Austria rendered the government daring; and the directory, desirous to find employment for its armies, and to gratify the spirit of a nation become eminently warlike during a long struggle for its independence, determined on a contest of ambition and revenge.

Towards the latter end of the preceding year certain menacing demands* had been made on the Swiss cantons in ge-

* The directory, in virtue of the treaty concluded at Soleure in 1777, and also as the representatives of the duke of Savoy by the possession of the department of Mont Blanc, thought proper to undertake the protection of the Vaudois; and had its efforts been confined to the rescue of this oppressed people, the clamours of the aristocracy of Berne would have excited no compassion. But the French government had demanded,

1. The free navigation of the lake of Lugano for the Cisalpine republic;

neral, but the thunder was expected to have spent its rage on Berne ; and the Helvetic diet, chiefly at the instance of that state, immediately determined on a levy of twenty-six thousand men, while the armed force of two cantons was sent into the Pays de Vaud. These troops were confided to the direction of colonel de Weiss, who had served in the capacity of a field officer during the monarchy, and by his influence in his own country, and the esteem in which he was held at Paris, found means at a former period to avert the horrors of war from his native mountains.

No sooner did the French government learn that Berne and Friburg had dispatched a body of soldiers and a train of artillery into the Pays de Vaud, on purpose to punish a new insurrection, than a division which had just returned from Italy was put in motion, and general Menard sent an aid-de-camp to the head-quarters at Yverdun, with an intimation "that the inhabitants of all the bailiwicks must be permitted to organise a government for themselves ; and in case any violence were offered to them, force should be repelled by force." But this officer and his escort, being mistaken, perhaps, for an advanced-guard, were either killed or wounded, and the minds of both armies became more embittered against each other.

The Vaudois, in the mean time, persevered in their intentions, and having sent deputies from every district to Lausanne, these, after mature debate, published a declaration that they had adopted a democratical form of government, and assumed the appellation of the republic of Leman.

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2. A passage for twenty-five thousand troops, which would have completely violated the neutrality of the cantons ;

And 3. The dismission of Mr. Wickham, the English minister, which must have involved them in disputes with Great Britain.

Certain other grievances ought to have been immediately redressed, such as the countenances notoriously afforded to emigrants of distinction, who, not content with enjoying the rights of hospitality, were perpetually plotting and intriguing against the new form of government adopted by their native country.

On this the cantons of Basle, Zurich, and Soleure, wisely determined to yield to necessity; and perceiving that their subjects were electrified with the successes of the Vaudois, they restored to them all their rights and franchises, and thus insured the continuance of their fidelity. But the senates of Berne, Friburg, and Soleure, imagining themselves still able to maintain their ancient tyranny, did not think fit to exhibit an equal degree of condescension. The first of these, however, had recourse to a weak and temporising policy; and while the sovereign council secretly prepared for war, an intimation was given that the government would henceforth exhibit a paternal affection for all its subjects, and provided the majority of the bailiwicks consented to the recent changes they should be fully confirmed after the lapse of a year.

The senate also sent an embassy to Paris, with an offer to accommodate all existing disputes in any manner "not inconsistent with the independence of a free people:" but the deputies were ordered to return; and it was intimated as the price of peace, "that the ancient magistrates were to be dismissed, the secret council, and that of the war department, suppressed, and a new constitution, founded on democratical principles, established." On hearing this degrading proposition, the patrician families determined upon resistance; and colonel De Weiss having resigned the command of the troops, an army of twenty-five thousand men was entrusted to the care of the baron D'Erlach D'Hindlebanck, who had formerly attained the rank of maréchal-de-camp in the French service, and was now but too eager to decide the fate of his country in a pitched battle.

In the mean time the management of the war being confided by the directory to general Brune, an officer who had distinguished himself in the Italian campaigns, he immediately entered the territories of Berne, and published a proclamation containing professions but too little attended to in the sequel.

"Citizens," said he, "the French soldiers who penetrate into your valleys are your friends and brethren; they carry arms for no other purpose than to annihilate tyranny; their sole aim is to restore that liberty which you cherish.

"From the commencement of the revolution, those who rule the aristocratical cantons of Switzerland, have secretly aided the powers leagued against France; and they have not failed to assert, that we intended to subjugate Helvetia: but neither ambition nor avarice shall ever dishonor the steps I now take in the name of the republic.

"Friends to the generous descendants of William Tell, it is only to punish the criminal invasion of your rights that we now appear in arms among you. Banish from your minds all uneasiness relative to the political independence and integrity of your territories! The government of which I am the organ, will guarantee these to you: its intentions shall be religiously seconded by my companions in arms. Be free—France invites, nature commands it: and to enjoy this precious advantage you have only to express the wish."

Some unsuccessful attempts were now made to obtain a truce; but a body of the invaders having advanced against the castle of Dornoch, seized without any difficulty on that little fortress, while thirteen thousand summoned Soleure, which immediately opened its gates. Friburg, better prepared for resistance, determined to oppose the French; but Brune having advanced at the head of a column, notwithstanding the gallant resistance of the garrison, headed by Verrer the avoyer, who perished upon this occasion, took it by assault: such, however, was the discipline still observed by the army, that no excess followed an event supposed to justify pillage; on the contrary, the people were invited to assemble and choose a provisional government, while the patricians cheerfully resigned the helm, happy at escaping from the rigours of confiscation and death.

As the troops of Berne retired, and those of France advanced towards the capital of the canton, mutiny and disaffection became prevalent in the former, while terror and dismay preceded the march of the latter. At length the magistrates, perceiving that the levy of the *landsthurm*, or peasantry, instead of meliorating, rendered their own situation more desperate, determined on abdicating employments which they had no prospect of maintaining; and the popular party, headed by Tiller and Bay, having obtained the superiority in the coun-

cil, a provisional regency was nominated, and intelligence of this sudden revolution conveyed to the French general.

But as the troops still held out, and the defiles were in their power, Brune took the necessary measures to secure possession of the city. He accordingly sent a large detachment against and carried Guimene, a post defended by numerous batteries, while another column under general Pigeon forced the pass of Nevenec on the succeeding morning, after an engagement of five hours, during which both sides displayed prodigies of valour.

General D'Erlach, assisted by the avoyer Steiguer, who, notwithstanding his advanced age, had repaired to the army, rallied his men in succession at Uteren and Grauholtz; but Schawemburg, after penetrating into the heart of the country, and defeating a body of the enemy on the heights of Altmerchirgen, having made a forced march on purpose to effect a junction with Brune, the latter appeared before Berne, which immediately opened its gates. The Swiss troops then retired under the cannon of the fortress of Arbourg, where they were again beaten; on which the soldiery, suspecting treachery, massacred several of their officers, and among others the brave D'Erlach fell a sacrifice to their unjust suspicions*.

The French had now exacted a bloody retaliation for the insults offered to themselves, as well as the assistance afforded by the aristocracy of Berne to their enemies; and after displacing the ruling families, changing the nature of the government, and sending the most violent of their opponents into exile, it was to be hoped that, content with the treasures of the state, and the military contributions exacted for the sup-

* General D'Erlach, whose family had contributed to rescue Switzerland from the dominion of the House of Austria, displayed the most heroic courage during the whole of the contest with France. On being summoned by general Brune to deliver up Morat, where some of his progenitors had fallen in a battle that proved fatal to the invaders, he transmitted the following gallant and laconic reply: "My ancestors never surrendered; and were I such a coward as to think of it, the bones of the Burgundians, now before my eyes, would preclude the possibility of such a humiliation."

ply of the invading army, they would now retire. In that case no one would have lamented the fate of the patricians, who, forgetting the principles that had hitherto secured their own consequence as well as the tranquillity of the state, had departed from the prudent system of a rigorous neutrality, and incurred the just resentment of a great nation. The emancipation of the Vaudois from a cruel vassalage, would at the same time have reflected honour on the arms of the invaders, and extorted the unwilling plaudits even of rival nations.

But the directory, actuated by a more selfish policy, had determined on the subjugation of Switzerland, and began already to calculate the immense advantages likely to be derived from its possession in case of a renewal of hostilities. It was accordingly resolved to change the form of the government from a federal into an united republic, which, by means of a close and intimate union with France, might be held in continual dependence.

The cantons of Berne, Zurich, Soleure, and Friburg, intimidated by recent events, willingly acceded to the proposition, and while they deemed themselves lucky to escape complete subjection on one hand, secretly rejoiced no doubt to think on the other, that in consequence of their wealth and numbers, they would still retain great influence in the general diet; but the smaller states of Uri, Schwitz, Underwalden, Glaris, and Appenzel, attached to the democratical system of government, which had so long guaranteed their liberty as well as secured their happiness, and anticipating perhaps the superior consequence of their more wealthy co-estates, were not desirous of change. Instead, therefore, of sending deputies to the meeting assembled at Arau, their commissioners met at Brennen, and transmitted a memorial to the French general, in which they stated, "that there was only one single objection in the government of their cantons, relative to which the republic, in conformity to her own principles, could desire a change: this has been obviated," added they, "and we no longer recognise any portion of the people as subjects; all are henceforth to enjoy equal franchises. A nation which, amidst its native mountains, possesses, no other property than its flocks, religion, and liberty, solemnly pro-

mise every mark of attachment not incompatible with its independence.

"We are ready to enter into a sacred engagement never to take up arms against France, and we demand in return the maintenance of a constitution which recognises for its basis the sovereignty of the people, and has conferred upon us ages of happiness."

Sentiments such as these could neither disarm the inflexible severity of the directory, nor meet even with the assent of such of the inhabitants of the greater cantons as had determined on a complete revolution throughout the whole of Switzerland. The latter having chosen a legislature, Arau was pitched upon as the scene of its deliberations; and one of the first operations that took place was the nomination of an executive, consisting of five members, who were to be entrusted with the government of the whole of Helvetia, the country of the Grisons alone excepted, the inhabitants having determined not to admit of any innovation whatsoever.

The democratical cantons refused however to send deputies to the new assembly, or to recognise its authority; and while the latter invoked the assistance of France to enforce obedience to its decrees, the former entered into a mutual league for the preservation of their ancient franchises. Having assembled in arms, and appointed Paravicini their leader, they seized on Lucerne and menaced Zurich; but finding it impossible to awaken the slumbering spirit of resistance among their countrymen, and by one grand national effort expel the invaders, they thought proper to retire to the fastnesses of their native mountains, and took post near the lake of Zug.

The French, commanded by general Schawenburg, immediately advanced in great force against them and commenced an attack. The leader of the confederates, perceiving that valour alone was unavailing against superior numbers, recurred to one of the stratagems of war, and by a feigned retreat, expressly calculated to punish the fiery character of the foe, enticed the assailants into an ambuscade, in consequence of which a complete defeat ensued. What the aristocratical cantons, guided by a few interested families, had been unable to effect, was thus achieved by a hardy peasantry, accustomed

to the enjoyment, and warmed with the love, of liberty. The career of the French was now for the first time stopped in Switzerland, in consequence of a bloody battle, during which several thousand of them perished; this was soon after followed by a treaty, in which, although it was agreed to accept of the new constitution as a bond of general union, yet an express stipulation was entered into, that the internal government of the smaller cantons should continue as before, and they were at the same time exempted from any contribution whatever.

This pacification, dictated partly from policy and partly from necessity, was neither agreeable to the French nor the Helvetic directory; and unfortunately a pretext was speedily afforded for the renewal of hostilities, as Underwalden, exhibiting a fastidious perseverance, obstinately refused to accede to any conditions whatever.

On this the French marched a large body of troops, accompanied by artillery, into that canton, and after a terrible battle of two days' duration, during which clubs and spears were in vain opposed to musquets and bayonets, and fragments from the rock to a regular artillery, the hardy mountaineers were overcome, the town of Standtz taken by assault, the houses in its beautiful valley destroyed by fire, the inhabitants nearly exterminated, and neither age nor sex spared by a furious and implacable soldiery. After this all the Swiss subscribed to the new constitution, Lucerne was chosen as the seat of government, and an alliance offensive and defensive entered into between the Gallic and Helvetic republics. But even that circumstance did not prevent the rapacity of the Frenth directory, who still continued to levy contributions and impose exactions with a most unpardonable severity; and those once happy regions, instead of enjoying some consolation from the conciliating manners of their diplomatic agents, experienced a new subject of complaint in the insolent demeanor and haughty demands of those whom they had entrusted with their confidence*.

* Mengaud and Rapinat.

Thus after enjoying the sweets of independence since the commencement of the fourteenth century, when the fortunate issue of a contest with Albert of Austria laid the foundation of their liberties, and also produced, perhaps, the revolutions in England, America, and France, the federate republics of Switzerland were overcome by a foreign enemy, and obliged to change the form of their government. The pretext for their ruin originated in the notorious injustice of the canton of Berne to the little states subjected to its dominion; and this intolerable yoke, instead of being lightened, was increased during a war which had effected so many memorable changes. The magistrates, the chief of whom either perished in the field or sought refuge in the dominions of Austria, when it was too late endeavoured to obliterate their former wrongs by reluctant concessions; they were unable however to obtain the confidence of a people whom they had so long deceived, and by their fall, which ultimately involved that of their more virtuous allies, exhibited a flagrant proof of the policy of timely reforms and a liberal and enlightened system of government.

But it is impossible to contemplate the fate of the five smaller cantons without a sigh. Formed into little independent societies, on the declivities or amidst the recesses of the mountains, it was they who first resisted the encroachments of the house of Austria, and made the last effort against the injustice of France. They were less fortunate than their ancestors; and at length fell, not because they had degenerated, but because they retained their original character while every thing around them was changed. When the Burgundian peasantry, in the days of Charles le Temeraire, left their fertile plains in search of an unprofitable conquest over the inhabitants of barren mountains, they were vanquished by the sturdy natives, who had entrenched themselves behind rocks, and taken possession of fastnesses that foiled all the efforts of the invaders. A similar race still defended their native summits, but they were now opposed by a warlike people, familiar with death, inured to conquest, armed with newly-invented engines of destruction, and intimately acquainted with all the rules and resources of modern war.

## CHAP. VIII.

*Brilliant but delusive Theories of Bonaparte—Motives for the Expedition to the East—Naval Armament sails from Toulon—Attack and Capture of Malta—Some account of Egypt and its Inhabitants.*

AS no enemy on the continent seemed desirous at this moment to incur the vengeance of the French republic, and the subjugation of Britain appeared too arduous a task, Bonaparte, averting his eyes from the north, turned all his attention to the east: he who dared not to rival the exploits of William the Conqueror, appeared determined to imitate the more splendid achievements of Alexander the Great.

THIS young general, smitten with the love of glory, and imbued with high notions from his early youth, had formed plans of a gigantic magnitude, which, trusting to his talents and his good fortune, he deemed himself destined to realize. His mind, filled with admiration of the heroic ages, had at first conceived an idea cherished by two sovereigns* under the canopy of despotism: this was the revival of the Greek republics; a measure become more familiar, and even more easy, by the recent acquisition of the Venetian isles, which, although despicable in respect to their productions, still continue to interest the attention of mankind, in consequence of the classical allusions to which they give birth.

BUT what engrossed his immediate notice, and appeared more practicable as well as more advantageous, was the idea of rescuing Egypt from the vassalage of the Turks and Mamelukes, and restoring a country so famous in history to its ancient splendor. That portion of the world, before the age of Vasquez di Gama, had participated in the commerce of India, and it was possible to render it once more the staple at which the merchants of the eastern and western hemispheres might exchange the commodities of their re-

* The empress of Russia and Joseph II.

spective soils. Rich in its own productions, it even at this period maintained a considerable trade with Arabia and Abyssinia through the Nile, and with Turkey and Europe by means of the Mediterranean. While the navigation of the Red Sea was calculated to acquire, or at least to share in, the wealth of Asia, the caravans piercing by land into the interior country, in return for the manufactures of the eastern and western nations might bring back the most precious commodities, such as gold dust and elephant's teeth, at the same time that the pilgrims who resorted to Mecca would ensure a profitable trade with all the Mahommedan states situated along the coast of Barbary.

It was even surmised that the passage by the Cape of Good Hope would be abandoned, and while Suez on one side commanded the commerce of two continents, Alexandria, restored to its primitive destination, would circulate their rich productions throughout another, and by giving the entire monopoly to the southern provinces of France, increase the wealth and strength of that country in the same proportion that the opulence of her great maritime rival was diminished. In addition to these splendid theories, it was doubtless suggested that the loss of the American isles might be supplied by the acquisition of the fertile plains yearly enriched by the Nile, and that the Delta and Saïd alone would furnish a richer and more certain harvest than colonies the productions of which were acquired by the precarious services and cruel bondage of slaves*.

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* It appears evident from the accounts lately published by scientific men that the Saïd is so fertile, that the sorgo, or holcus of Linnæus, when sowed, makes a return to the farmer of two hundred and forty for one. The cotton plant, the sugar-cane, indigo, and tobacco, are also cultivated there with great facility; so that this portion of the earth unites within itself all the advantages to be derived from the climates of the torrid and temperate zones, as it equally yields the corn of Europe and the rich productions of the East and West Indies. The inquisitive reader is referred to tome III. of "Mémoires sur l'Egypte" for a very interesting paper on this subject, drawn upon the spot, by Girard, the chief engineer in Upper Egypt.

But although these commercial speculations might engage the attention of Bonaparte, yet the mind of the conqueror of Italy was chiefly fascinated by objects of another kind. The achievements of the English in the east, the acquisition of immense revenues, and the facility with which independent rajahs and sultauns were rendered tributary to a trading company, aroused all his attention, and he at length began to consider Egypt but as the fulcrum whence he might stretch an immense lever across the Arabian gulph to overturn the empire of Britain in Hindostan. Nor would powerful allies be wanting: many of the native princes were disaffected; and the sovereign of the Mysore not only participated in the resentment of France, but was disposed, like another Mithridates, to collect all the strength of the east, on purpose to wage an eternal war against those who had invaded and diminished his dominions.

The directory eager to find employment for armies which the plunder of Piedmont and Lombardy had sharpened rather than satiated, and desirous also, perhaps, of the removal of a general in whose presence all their power seemed to be eclipsed, notwithstanding a peace was not yet finally settled with the empire, at length consented to a romantic enterprise that had been in some measure sanctioned during the monarchy; happy, in thus averting the swords of a victorious soldiery from the bowels of their country, and in securing their own safety by finding employment for enterprising and ambitious chiefs. Although this project was founded on the spoliation of an ally, the gross injustice of the expedition does not appear to have excited the least repugnance. No application was made to the court of Constantinople to obtain permission to chastise the rebel beys, and to be allowed in return to establish factories on the shores of the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. On the contrary, although the Divan had kept its faith with the republic inviolate, an armament was now fitted out for the express purpose of depriving the emperor Selim III. of his precarious but acknowledged sovereignty over Egypt, which yielded an annual tribute to his treasury, and supplied his capital with corn. Such are the fascinations of ambition, that a nation which had so lately risen in arms to repress a daring aggres-

sion, instead of being moved with indignation, became dazzled with the splendor of the enterprise, and never once dreamed of its injustice, while the celebrity of the great generals, and the fame of the learned men selected on this occasion, were calculated not only to varnish its immorality, but ensure its success.

In the mean time the ports of Marseilles and Toulon were busied in refitting and launching ships, the fabrication of cordage, and the preparation of naval and military stores. The spoils of the rich arsenal of Venice contributed an ample share; Corsica was called upon to furnish its quota; even Genoa granted supplies with a liberal hand; and while all Europe, during the solemn pause that ensued, was contemplating the extent and destination of the armament, Bonaparte, accompanied by a few of the chief warriors who had planted the three-coloured standard on the summits of the Noric Alps, and a multitude of men of learning and artists, had repaired to the borders of the Mediterranean Sea, where he was joined by many thousands of the combatants who had gained the victories of Lodi and Arcole.

Immediately on his arrival he addressed a proclamation to his troops, whom he was pleased to term "the right wing of the army of England." He told them, "that they had already carried on hostilities in mountains, in valleys, and before cities, but that they were now destined to a maritime war. The Roman legions, whom they had sometimes imitated, but never equalled, combated Carthage by turns on the plains of Zama, and on the same sea they were about to traverse; victory," he said, "had never abandoned them, because they were brave, patient amidst fatigues, admirably disciplined, and united among themselves."

The general also reminded his soldiers, "that the eyes of mankind were fixed upon them, that they had a grand destiny to fulfil, many battles to fight, dangers to overcome, and fatigues to encounter." They were told "that the genius of the republic, which from the first moment of its existence had become the arbiter of neighbouring nations, now wished to achieve the conquest of distant countries." In fine, after being recommended to consider each other as brethren, they

were promised in return for their toils, a rich harvest of glory to all, and to such as survived the expedition was held out the prospect of a secure retreat, and a suitable portion of money and of land on their return to their native country.

At length, all the preparations being completed, Bonaparte set sail with a formidable veteran army, consisting of nearly forty thousand men, besides an immense quantity of artillery and military stores, and leaving Sicily on the left, was joined by a squadron of Venetian men-of-war, commanded by rear-admiral Brueix, who had proceeded from Corfeu nearly at the same time. To this officer, who had served with no higher rank than that of lieutenant in the royal navy, was entrusted the command of the fleet, and he now repaired on board the Orient of one hundred and twenty guns, where he hoisted his flag, and received a general salute.

After a passage of eighteen days, this formidable armament, now consisting of about three hundred sail, including ships of the line, frigates, and transports, descried Malta, known to the Romans by the name of Ogygia, to the Greeks by that of Melite, and celebrated in our own days as the residence of an order, the laws of which mingled the duties of the cowl with those of the sword, and all the pride, pomp, and glories of chivalry, with the vows, the humility, and the resignation of the cloister. This celebrated institution, coeval with the crusades, and originating in the same spirit of enterprise that induced European kings and barons to lead their followers to the Holy Land in quest of extraordinary adventures, was first known under the name of the Order of St. John, and established at Jerusalem in 1103. The heroic courage of the Turks, and the declining fanaticism of the Christians, after a residence of eighty years, occasioned its removal to Acre, where it flourished for a century. Thence, following the fate of the common cause, it was obliged to emigrate, but it conquered Rhodes from the infidels, against whom all the knights had sworn perpetual war; and being driven, after a long and gallant defence, from an island which had owned its sway for more than two centuries, Malta was presented by Charles V. in 1530 to the remnant of chevaliers who had survived the contest, and their successors had con-

tinued, until now, to carry on continual hostilities by sea against the unbelievers in the true faith.

But however discordant the institutions and practices of this order might be to the genius of the present age, its rights, sovereignty, and independence, were acknowledged by all nations, and could neither be invaded nor infringed without the grossest injustice. It had always been its policy to avoid engaging in the disputes of the European states, nor was this wise maxim ever departed from but on a recent occasion, when, seduced by the example of the Catholic princes, and indignant perhaps at the immense losses sustained in consequence of the French revolution, one of its grand-masters* presumed to offer his feeble aid to the coalition of kings, and actually published a manifesto which had given great offence to the convention. But the memory of this transaction was soon lost in incidents of far greater importance, nor had it ever been considered as an aggression calculated to justify the events that ensued.

This little island, which was defended by its gallant knights for more than two hundred years against the whole power of the Mussulman empire, and had expelled the sultaun Solyman with immense slaughter about the middle of the sixteenth century, was strongly fortified on all sides, but Valetta constituted its chief defence. That city is built on a peninsula ; its walls are for the most part surrounded by the waves, and it is built on the declivity of a hill called Scebera. The front which looks towards the sea, and is protected by the castle of St. Elmo, has always been considered as inexpugnable ; that flank facing the principal harbour is defended by Ricasoli and the castle of St. Angelo, while the forts Manoel and Tigné guard it on the side of Mursa Murcet. Bastions, cavaliers, covered-ways, the Bourg, Burmola, the Cotoner, in short, all the means of defence that the genius of Vulpurga could point out, had been employed.

As every thing was considered as subordinate to the pro-

* This was John Emanuel de Rohan de Polduc, born April 19, 1725, and elected November 16, 1795 ; he died in 1798, a few months before the French invaded Malta.

tection of Valetta, the old city, nearly in the centre of the island, was only intended to hold out during a few hours; neither could the entrenchment called Nasciar, constructed along the chain of hills which traverses Malta, long resist a powerful enemy; but ample precautions were taken to prevent a disembarkation. Batteries and towers had been erected for this purpose on every point, the chief of which are denominated St. Paul and Marsa Sirocco, built so as to command two of the ports, and produce a cross-fire of red-hot bullets. In addition to this, the rocks were cut at intervals into the form of immense mortars, and being loaded with grape-shot, are so calculated as to overwhelm the invaders with inevitable destruction. In short, according to the system of defence laid down for Malta, it might be considered as impregnable if maintained with skill and courage*.

The progress of the Reformation had been highly disadvantageous to the order of St. John: but an emperor†, smitten with the love of chivalry, had lately evinced a partiality to its institutions; and the head of the Greek church, although considered as a schismatic by this orthodox confraternity, promised to restore the consequence of knights, whose splendor had been eclipsed in consequence of the lack of zeal on the part of the Christian princes of the north in a former age, and the French revolutionists during the present. The count Ferdinand de Hompesch, descended from an ancient and illustrious family, and the first grand-master who had ever been a German, presided at this moment as the sovereign. The chevaliers were in number three hundred and thirty-two‡; but as fifty were incapable of service on account of their age, two hundred and eighty-two only were able to carry arms. The troops and militia, consisting of seventeen thousand two hundred and eighty-two men, were capable of affording a for-

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* Révolution de Malte en 1798. Par M. le Chev. de M***.

† Paul Petrowitz.

‡ French knights, - 200 Portuguese - 8
Italians, - - 90 Germans - 4
Spaniards, - - 25 Bavarians - 5

midable resistance, but they were not actuated by similar motives. Great dissensions had unfortunately taken place between the order and its subjects; the latter were accordingly disaffected; many of the French knights were also dazzled with the glory lately acquired by their country; and the arrival of the conqueror of Italy, supported by a numerous army and powerful fleet, was calculated to make a great impression on all the other tongues.

However, the grand master, on the first appearance of an armament which still continued to keep all Europe in suspense, had assembled the militia, ordered the troops kept in reserve to march into the forts, and all the necessary preparations to be made for the defence of the island. The great council, consisting of twenty grand commanders, priors, baillies, treasurers, an admiral, a bishop, and a grand chancellor, were assembled; the prince Camille de Rohan, as seneschal, mustered the armed inhabitants; the bailli de Loras, as marshal, undertook the defence of Valetta; the old city was regulated, according to established custom, by a Maltese governor; all the commanders repaired to their respective posts, and the galleys then cruising were enjoined to return immediately.

In the mean time, Bonaparte only wanted a pretext to seize on the island: he began therefore by demanding leave for his fleet to enter the port; on this the grand master and council informed the consul of France, that it was contrary to the laws of the order that all the squadron should enter, but that every necessary refreshment should be distributed among the soldiers and seamen. No sooner was this answer made public than the commander Bosredon Rasijeat, after reading a letter from Dolomieu, another chevalier, then on board of the Orient, informed his chief "that he begged leave to resign his employment, as he had only sworn to wage war against the Turks, and was not disposed to carry arms against his countrymen."

By break of day next morning all the boats of the fleet were seen rowing to the shore, and a letter was presented to the grand master from the representative of France, threatening to obtain by force what had been so inhospitably denied; but

at the same time promising to respect the religion, customs, and property, of the Maltese*. The debarkation, however, was not effected until seven o'clock at night, when the soldiers were landed at the roadsted of la Madealine, the only place in the island where the rocks were neither mined nor cut into mortars; ample means of defence, however, presented themselves, and the progress of the enemy might have been instantly arrested. Inclination alone was wanting. After firing a single cannon, the knight who commanded the tower of St. George deserted with his garrison to the enemy. The battery at the point of St. Julian was also abandoned, and the regiment of militia of Birkarhara, posted there, took refuge under the cannon of fort Manoel.

While terror and distrust seized on all in consequence of these unexpected events, a report was suddenly spread and believed, that all the French, Spanish, and most of the Italian knights, had entered into a conspiracy with the enemy, who by this time had advanced to the entrenchments of Nasciar, and seized on all the artillery, now abandoned by the fugitives. A picquet of cavalry, sent by the grand master to the old city, was, nearly at the same time, refused entrance by

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* "Ayant été appellé à bord du vaisseau amiral pour porter la réponse que V. A. S. avait faite à ma proposition, de permettre à l'escadre Française de faire de l'eau, le général a été indigné de ce qu'elle ne voulait accorder la permission de faire de l'eau qu'à quatre bâtimens à la fois. En effet, quel tems ne faudrait-il pas à cinq ou six cens voiles, pour se procurer de cette manière l'eau et les choses dont ils ont un besoin pressant.

"Ce refus a d'autant plus surpris le général, qu'il n'ignore pas la préférence accordée aux Anglais, et la proclamation faite par le prédécesseur de V. A. S. Le général est résolu de se procurer de force, ce qu'on auroit dû lui accorder suivant les principes d'hospitalité, qui est la base de votre ordre. J'ai vu les forces considérables qui sont à ses ordres, et je prévois l'impossibilité oú se trouve l'ordre de résister. Il eut été à souhaiter que dans une circonstance aussi majeure V. A. S. par amour pour son ordre, pour ses chevaliers et toute la population eut pu proposer quelque moyen d'accommodement.

"Le général n'a point voulu que je retournasse dans une ville, qu'il se croit obligé de traiter desormais en ennemie, et qui n'a plus d'espoir que dans la loyauté du général. Il a donne les ordres les plus précis pour que la religion les moeurs et les propriétés des Maltais soient scrupuleusement respectés."

the governor, who, as well as the regiment stationed there, stated that they were determined not to quarrel with the French.

Notwithstanding this general defection, the grand seneschal established his head-quarters at Floriana, the bailli de Clugny assumed the command of Fort Ricasoli, the bailli Tomasi remained firm at his post, and the fire of the forts St. Elmo and Tigné produced great execution; while a sally was made with a galley and two galliots, which cannonaded the French shallops, still employed in carrying fresh troops, and sunk two of them.

But the dawn of the succeeding morning discovered that the enemy had encircled the city, stopped the supplies of provisions and ammunition, and were erecting redoubts to batter the place. On this the confusion soon became general; nine hundred of the regular troops refused to attack a post occupied by the enemy; whole companies of militia expressed a determination not to be shut up within the fortifications, and it was found necessary to relieve all the posts commanded by the French chevaliers.

At length the nobles, the advocates, and the burghers, who had retired from different parts of the island into the city, on the approach of evening surrounded the palace of the grand master, and stated, that as there could no longer be any doubt of treachery, they had drawn up a declaration and presented it to the Dutch consul, intimating their resolution of surrendering to the French; it was added, that they had requested him to transmit the capitulation to Bonaparte, either with or without the consent of the order. Several of the knights were at the same time massacred*, a bloody head was carried about on a pike, and it was with great difficulty that the chevaliers of the priories of Castille and Bavaria could prevent the minister of Russia from being killed during the tumult. The doors of the council-chamber were soon after

* The chevaliers De Valin, Montazet D'Ornice, and D'Andelard, were put to death, and the chevaliers De Roux, Du Quesnoi, Du Chatel, Rigaud, De Cornet, De Guebriant, and the bailli De Nevew, experienced a similar fate.

burst open, the bodies of the murdered chevaliers presented to the members, and the sovereign himself threatened with death.

During this dreadful period of suspense, Ransijeat, who had been released from prison, Formosa, the consul of Holland, Doublet, the under-secretary of state, the bailli Frisari, and the chevalier Amati, minister from Spain, were sent by the insurgents to the French camp, where they obtained an armistice during twenty-four hours, and the terms of capitulation were immediately debated upon and agreed; but neither the grand master, nor the council, nor the congregation of state, affixed their signatures.

At length the French entered the city, and seized on all the posts; while Ransijeat and Doublet presided over the municipality, and regulated the internal police.

The grand master Hompesch, deprived of all authority, and anxious to abandon a place where he no longer found any respect, was at length permitted to leave the island and take refuge in the dominions of the emperor*. Not being permitted to carry away his plate or jewels, it was intimated to him that he should receive a pension of three hundred thousand livres during his life. On his departure, he received the sum of one hundred thousand livres; a poor compensation for a chief who ranked as a sovereign, lived in a palace

* This unfortunate chief embarked on the evening of the 17th of June, and arrived at Trieste after a passage of thirty-nine days. He was not permitted to carry away either his plate or jewels; all that he received under the title of an indemnification for so many losses was the sum of one hundred thousand livres (about four thousand five hundred pounds sterling.) It is true, that the French legislature passed a vote for a pension of three hundred thousand livres during his life; but although this would have been but an inadequate compensation perhaps for a chief who ranked as a sovereign, and received an annual revenue of eight hundred thousand livres, yet he never obtained any portion of it.

Had this nobleman betrayed the interests of his order, as has been pretended, he might have experienced more munificence; and, in that case, he would have assuredly retired to France, and not sought an asylum in the territories of the emperor of Germany.

was served in plate, surrounded by guards, and received an annual revenue of eight hundred thousand livres.

Thus in the course of a few days Bonaparte, in consequence of his talents and good fortune, contrived to obtain possession of the city of Valetta and the whole island of Malta; while the ancient order of St. John of Jerusalem beheld itself bereaved of its territories, after being in possession of them during more than two centuries and a half.

Having appointed a provisional government, and watered his fleet, the commander in chief entrusted the care of his new acquisitions to general Vaubois, and again proceeded to sea. After a passage of a week, the armament arrived in sight of Candia; in five days more the tower of the Arabs was descried; and in the course of that very night it anchored in the neighbourhood of Alexandria.

It may be here necessary to pause, on purpose to contemplate the object against which such immense preparations were directed, and to form a just idea both of a country and a people, for the subjugation of whom, a northern nation, after traversing mountains, and crossing distant seas, was about to wage a cruel war in the remote regions of the east.

Egypt, so renowned in ancient times for fertility, science, and the most exquisite efforts of art, receives into its bosom the waters of the Nile, by which a large portion of it is said to have been produced, and on which its physical and political existence entirely depends. Separated from Asia and the rest of Africa by deserts, it is bounded by the Mediterranean on one side, and the Red Sea on the other. A prey to invasion from the earliest times, this celebrated country hath beheld, during two-and-twenty centuries, a succession of conquerors, the greater part of the posterity of whom still exhibit such a marked difference, notwithstanding the same soil and climate is common to all, that this distinguishing characteristic alone would have supplied the place of history, and recorded all its revolutions. It is true, that, in the lapse of ages and the course of events, the traces of the Persians, the Macedonians, the Romans, and the Greeks, are scarcely visible, except in those stately monuments which seem to defy the iron tooth of time; but the Arabs, the Georgians, and the

Turks, subsist at this day, not blended, as in other countries, into an uniform mass, but conspicuously marked by the distinguishing features of religion, customs, and pursuits*.

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* According to general Reynier, while the inhabitants of Egypt differ in every thing else, they agree in the corruption and degeneracy of their manners alone.

" Résumé de l'état social des peuples de l'Egypte :—

" Depuis l'Arabe bedouin, jusqu'aux chefs du gouvernement, la force et les richesses sont les seules routes qui conduisent au pouvoir, et dès-lors l'unique objet de l'ambition. Tous sont peu délicats sur les moyens d'acquérir des trésors ; tous cherchent à s'attacher des hommes qui leurs soient dévoués, et dont ils puissent utilement employer le courage et l'adrésse. Les beys et les mukhtesims achètent des esclaves blancs et quelques noirs ; les cheiks Arabes achètent des nègres. Chacun s'entoure d'une milice plus ou moins redoubtable : se croit-il assez fort, il lutte et fait la guerre à ses concurrens ou a ses oppresseurs. Lorsqu'il n'existe pas dans le gouvernement une puissance capable d'en imposer à toutes ces forces divisées, l'anarchie est complette ; l'esprit de faction et les haines héréditaires se joignent aux sujets de querelles qui naissent journellement.

" Le cultivateur est presque toujours entrainé dans ces querelles ; il en a aussi de personnelles ; mais de quelque manière qu'elles se terminent, le produit de ses récoltes sert toujours à nourrir les combattans ; il doit payer les profusions des chefs pour augmenter leur pouvoir ; il n'est que le misérable instrument de leurs jouissances. Régi plutôt par les caprices des hommes puissans que par des lois fixes, il ne sait à qui du gouvernement de Constantinople, des beys, des mukhtesims, ou des cheiks Arabes, il doit obéir. Obligé de les satisfaire tous, il exécute d'abord les ordres de celui dont, pour le moment, il redoute la vengeance ; de-là l'usage de mettre, chaque année, des troupes en campagne pour percevoir les contributions.

" Les qualités morales et l'instruction ne conduisent à aucun emploi, elles ne procurent qu'une bien faible considération, et nulles richesses ; rien n'invitait donc à les cultiver. La seule étude est celle de la dissimulation, cette arme de la faiblesse ambitieuse : elle est autant le partage de toutes les classes du peuple, que la base de la conduite du gouvernement.

" Des lois vagues, la vénalité des juges, l'absence d'une force spécialement destinée à poursuivre et punir les coupables, les refuges qui leurs sont toujours ouverts par l'hospitalité, déterminent le gouvernement à punir une famille, une corporation, un village, pour la faute d'un seul homme souvent fugitif, plus

The Arabs, who are all Mussulmen, may be divided into three classes: the first consists of the Fellahs, or husbandmen and artisans; the second of the Occidentals, who either cultivate the earth or live by trade; and, lastly, the Bedouins, or inhabitants of the desert, some of whom arrive yearly from the heart of Africa, to profit by the fertility of the country, and retire during the spring into the desert; others are stationary in Egypt: but all of them are detested by the farmers, whom they pillage, and the travellers whom they rob*.

The Copts, Christians of the Eutychian sect, form a second race, and are descended from the mixture of Egyptians, Persians, and Greeks, who possessed the country under the Ptolemies and Constantines. Being less ignorant than the other inhabitants, they are become the depositaries of the registers of the lands and tribes; at Cairo they are also the secretaries and collectors of government.

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souvent inconnu; il adopte ainsi l'usage des Arabes, d'étendre les vengeances personnelles à des familles entières; il reconnaît le territoire de chaque tribu, pour exiger d'elles la restitution ou le paiement des vols qui s'y commettant.

"Dans un gouvernement mal organisé, cette méthode de punir une classe entière des fautes d'un seul homme, à du moins l'avantage d'intéresser tous les individus à se surveiller réciproquement. Les asyles sont une ressource, que tous les habitans se procurent mutuellement, contre l'oppression. Ce n'est pas par esprit d'ordre et de justice que les gouvernans, peu susceptibles de ces sentimens moraux, poursuivent les coupables, et cherchent à terminer les querelles; mais c'est que la culture, les récoltes et le paiement des contributions en souffrent, et que les accomodemens leur procurent toujours des présens ou des amendes.

"Le peuple Egyptien a été soumis, dans presque tous les tems, à des conquérans étrangers, dont il a successivement détesté le joug. Toujours prompt à se livrer aux apparences d'un succès; mais en proie aux haines, aux jalousies, effets de sa division en classes distinctes, jamais un concours simultané d'efforts n'exista pour briser ses chaines; les soulèvemens partiels furent toujours sévérement réprimés: il conserve encore le même esprit d'inquiétude. Le gouvernement des Osmanlis est celui qu'il déteste le plus; cette aversion est continuellement excitée par les Mamlouks et les Arabes, dont l'esprit domine en Egypte, elle a sans doute contribué, malgré le fanatisme religieux, à l'attacher aux Français."

* Volney, t. XI. c. 6.

The Turks, the nominal possessors of the country, and once its acknowledged masters, constitute a third race: they formerly occupied the chief posts, and exercised the religious and military employments; but a revolution had lately been effected by a fourth and last class, born at the foot of Mount Caucasus, eminently distinguished from the other inhabitants by the flaxen colour of their hair, and first known in Egypt during the early part of the thirteenth century. Originally the slaves and soldiers of the Othoman Tartars, in the space of fifty years they got the upper hand of their masters, slew the last Turcoman prince, and substituted one of their own leaders in his stead, with the title of sultaun, retaining for themselves the appellation of Mamelukes, or military slaves. The sword, the bow-string, poison, private execution, or public murder, was the fate reserved for a series of tyrants chosen by them in succession, and who in general were not permitted to live for more than five or six years; no less than forty-seven having appeared during the space of two centuries and a half.

At length, the emperor Selim having taken and hanged Touman Bey, their last chief, an end was put to that dynasty: but the conqueror departed on this occasion from the usual policy of the Turks, by saving the Mamelukes from extermination; for being afraid lest the distance from Constantinople should induce a revolt, he determined to preserve Egypt faithful by means of a government founded on a balance of power, which, notwithstanding its obvious defects, subsisted during the space of two centuries. According to this system a council of regency was established, consisting of the pacha, who was to notify the orders of the Ottoman Port, to expedite the tribute, watch over the safety of the country against foreign enemies, and counteract the ambitious views of the different parties; while the chiefs of the seven military bodies, who were to ratify all civil or political ordinances, possessed the right of rejecting the orders of, and even of deposing, this officer.

The part destined for the Mamelukes in this faulty plan soon obtained for them the superiority again; as from part of that body was to be selected the twenty-four governors or

beys of the provinces ; and to them was intrusted the care of restraining the Arabs, superintending the collection of the tributes, and the managing the civil government.

While the Turks were formidable in Europe, their power continued to be respected in this portion of Africa ; but the moment that they became weakened by their wars with the Austrians and Russians, and began to fall into decay, a race born in Georgia and Mingrelia, not continued in the usual manner by generation, but by the occasional importation of slaves, rendered themselves masters of a country where, in consequence of a singular paradox in natural history, they could not propagate, and, since the revolt of Ali Bey, have in a great measure disowned the authority of the Sublime Porte*.

These, at the period of which we now treat, constituted the whole military force of Egypt. Permitting the inhabitants to make use of mules and asses alone, they reserved for themselves the exclusive privilege of riding the horse, and are allowed to manage this animal with wonderful dexterity. Their principal weapon consists of a carabine only thirty inches long, but of so large a calibre as to discharge ten or twelve balls at a time ; from the bow of the saddle hangs a heavy mace ; at the belt are suspended two pistols ; and to the left thigh is attached a crooked sabre, which they use in the field of battle with inimitable dexterity. By these, who daily performed their military exercises in the presence of their beys, and did not then exceed eight thousand five hundred men, the pacha, rather the prisoner of the Mamelukes than the representative of the sultaun, was deposed at pleasure on the first

* The Mamelukes, disdaining to marry the natives, form alliances with their own country-women alone, who, like themselves, are slaves brought from Georgia, Mingrelia, &c. Volney, allowed by all the French who accompanied Bonaparte to have given a most faithful description of Egypt and its inhabitants, records this singular fact, "that during five hundred and fifty years, which is from the first introduction of the Mamelukes, not one of them has left subsisting issue : there does not exist one single family of them in the second generation ; all their offspring perish in the first or second descent." t. I. c. 7.

summons of the caracoulouk, or herald, clothed in black, who at once produced and notified his degradation by merely pronouncing a single word* of sinistrous import.

Such is the country, and such the people, against whom Bonaparte now led his veteran army; and it was not difficult to fortel that this motley race of inhabitants, unacquainted with the art of war, and unprovided with artillery, would be overcome by European skill and discipline: but even then the desert was to be passed; Mourad and Ibrahim Bey were to be overcome; the Mamelukes were to be exterminated; and even if Cairo itself should surrender, the conquest of Syria, to which the routed army and defeated chiefs would retire, presented a variety of obstacles, each of which appeared nearly insurmountable. In addition to these numerous difficulties, it ought not to be omitted, that a communion of interest and religion was but too well calculated to unite the whole country, and induce the different races to suspend their mutual hatred for the express purpose of expelling the invaders, who must of course be odious to all.

## CHAP. IX.

*Invasion of Egypt—Alexandria is taken by Assault—The French enter the Desert, overcome the Mamelukes, and obtain possession of Cairo.*

To obtain an entrance into Egypt, it became necessary to seize on Alexandria, the name of which, while it recals the memory of its founder, serves at the same time to prove, that the Macedonian hero was a statesman as well as a soldier. This city, still retaining many vestiges of its former grandeur, is situated on a tongue of land, between the sea and the western arm of the Nile: it is surrounded by a wall, and

* "Enzel," or, descend from the castle.

defended by the triangular fort, and that of Farillon, so called from being the spot on which the ancient pharos stood; but it did not possess a regular garrison, and was not calculated, at this period, to restrain the assault of disciplined troops.

While contemplating the scene of his future conquests, Bonaparte received a visit from the French consul, who repaired on board the Orient, and communicated the most important intelligence. In the first place, he stated that the appearance of the fleet had occasioned great commotions in the city, which was prepared for defence; that all the Christians were in danger of being massacred; that admiral Nelson, with fourteen line-of-battle ships, had arrived three days before, and, not finding the armament there, sailed immediately in pursuit of it towards the north-east. No part of this information was agreeable; but that respecting the English, in particular, rendered the situation of the commander in chief peculiarly critical, and determined him to precipitate all his movements.

He began by circulating a printed address to his army*, in which, after observing that the Romans protected all religions, he requested the soldiery to treat the "Muftis and Imans of Africa with the same respect that they had exhibited towards the bishops and rabbins of Europe." He also transmitted three proclamations prepared beforehand, and dated on board the flag-ship; the first to the pacha of Egypt, stating "that he was come to put an end to the exactions of the Mamelukes," and inviting his highness, in the Oriental style, "to meet, and curse along with him, the impious race of the beys." The second was addressed to the chief of the Caravan; and the last to the inhabitants: in this he asserted, "that he was come to rescue the rights of the poor from the hands of their tyrants; and added, "that the French respect, more than the Mamelukes, God, his prophet, and the Koran."

* I have been assured by an officer of rank, just returned from Egypt, that the French troops, on beholding the dreary aspect of the desert, actually mutinied, and refused to land, until Kleber interposed, and prevailed upon his division to consent.

"CADIS, Cheiks, Imans, Tchirbadjees!" continues he, "tell the people that we are the friends of true Mussulmen. Did we not dethrone the pope, who preached that it was necessary to make war against the true believers? Did we not destroy the knights of Malta, because those foolish men thought that God wished hostilities to be perpetually carried on against those of your faith?" After stating that all the towns and villages which might arm against the French should be burnt, he commanded every one to remain in his house, enjoined prayers to be said as usual, and concluded with "glory to the sultaun, glory to the French army, his friends, curses to the Mamelukes, and happiness to the people of Egypt."

NOTWITHSTANDING the wind blew from the north with great violence, and the fleet was nearly three leagues distant from the spot intended for debarkation, yet Bonaparte determined on effecting a descent in the course of that very afternoon. He himself superintended this operation on board a galley, which was stationed off Marabou; but it was sun-set before all the boats belonging to the squadron had arrived at the place of their destination. At length, near one o'clock in the morning, the commander in chief landed in the desert, about nine miles from Alexandria; and, having sent some light infantry forward, reviewed the troops, which were found to consist of one thousand men belonging to Kleber's division, one thousand eight hundred of Menou's, and about one thousand five hundred of general Bon's. Neither Desaix nor Regnier had as yet been able to reach the shore, and the distance of the shipping had also precluded the arrival of both cannon and cavalry; but as the van of the army was to commence its march at half an hour after two, expedition was chiefly aimed at.

BONAPARTE, accompanied by his staff, headed the advanced guard along with general Caffarelli, who, notwithstanding his wooden leg, could not be prevailed upon to wait the arrival of a horse. General Bon commanded the column on the right; that in the centre was led by general Kleber; while the left, under general Menou, proceeded along the sea-coast. The troops, after experiencing but little interruption, except from

a few scattered Arabs, who killed an officer, at break of day beheld Pompey's pillar, and soon arrived within a short distance of the old town, which was immediately summoned; but the shouts of men, women, and children, accompanied by some cannon shot, soon demonstrated that the enemy were not inclined to surrender.

On this, Bonaparte gave orders to beat a charge, and the French, advancing towards the walls, prepared to scale them, notwithstanding the fire of the besieged, which was accompanied by a shower of stones. While the generals and privates, with an equal degree of intrepidity, were attempting to reach the summit, Kleber received a musket-shot in the head, and Menou was thrown back from the parapet which he had already reached, covered with contusions. A guide * rushing on before the grenadiers, was one of the first to gain a firm footing on the rampart, and, having assisted the soldiers next to him, the walls were soon covered with French, while the besieged fled: notwithstanding this, those who garrisoned the old towers continued their fire, and refused to submit.

Instead of pursuing the fugitives, the troops were enjoined to form on the little hills which command the place; but being hurried away by their ardour, they penetrated into the city, engaged in the streets, and put a great number of the people to death†. The commander in chief, fearing lest the army should receive a check in a position where the enemy possessed every advantage, prevailed upon the captain of a Turkish caraval to announce to the besieged, "that their property, liberty, and religion, should be respected; and that the French republic, desirous of preserving the friendship of the Ottoman Porte, would employ its forces against the Ma-

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* Joseph Cala.

† General Berthier, in his "Relation des Campagnes du General Bonaparte en Egypt et en Syrie," asserts, that the troops entered Alexandria in express opposition to the orders of their commander; but, on the other hand, it has been stated, and generally believed, that he was induced, by a sanguinary and barbarous policy, to strike the natives with terror, on purpose to preclude all resistance in future.

melukes alone." The inhabitants, dispirited by the slaughter that had already taken place, and happy at the idea of escaping from being plundered, immediately laid down their arms. On this, the Imans, the Cheiks, and the Cherifs, presented themselves before Bonaparte, a treaty* was signed, and the invaders obtained possession of the city and the two forts. The Arabs, who had attacked them in the morning, sent deputies to the conqueror, who partook of a repast with them in token of friendship, and sent them home loaded with presents, on purpose to secure their fidelity.

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* Declaration of the Mufti, and principal Cheiks of the city of Alexandria, in the name of the Inhabitants.

" Glory to God, to whom all glory is due, and peace to the holy prophet Mahomet, his family, and the companions of his divine mission.

" The following agreement has been concluded between us, the chief men of the city of Alexandria, whose names are hereunto subjoined, and the general in chief of the French army encamped in this city.

" The undersigned chiefs shall continue to observe the law and sacred institutions. They shall determine all differences according to the purest justice, and carefully keep at a distance from the crooked path of iniquity. The cadi, to whose care the tribunal of justice is to be confided, shall be a man of the purest morals and the most irreproachable conduct; but he shall not pronounce any sentence without first consulting the chiefs of the law, and his final judgment shall be regulated by their decision. The subscribing cheiks shall study the means of making righteousness flourish, and direct all their efforts to that object, as if animated with the same spirit. They shall take no resolution but what is adopted with one accord. They shall zealously labour for the good of the country, the happiness of the people, and the destruction of the children of vice and iniquity. They further promise never to betray, or attempt to ensnare, the French army, act contrary to its interests, or enter into any conspiracy that may be formed against it.

" To all these promises they have bound themselves by the most solemn oath, which they renew by this act in the sincerest and most religious manner.

" The general in chief of the French army promises, on his part, that no one of the soldiers shall molest the inhabitants of Alexandria, by vexatious proceedings, rapine, or menaces; and those who shall commit such excesses shall be punished with the utmost rigor.

" The general in chief has also most solemnly promised, that

Possession having been thus obtained of Alexandria, with the loss of only a colonel, and seventy soldiers killed and wounded, General Desaix, who had arrived with his division, accompanied by two field-pieces, was immediately dispatched towards Cairo, on purpose to take advantage of the terror with which the Mamelukes would necessarily be inspired, by the sudden arrival and successful exploits of the French.

In the mean time, Bonaparte issued orders for the transports and two Venetian men-of-war to enter the old port; he was desirous also that the fleet should shelter itself there from the enemy, but, on sounding the channel, it appeared that there was not sufficient depth of water for the Orient; the road of Abouquir was therefore chosen as the fittest anchorage.

The cannon, cavalry, and military stores, having been disembarked, a divan established, and the chief command entrusted to Kleber, in the course of five days a flotilla was established on the Nile, and the city of Rosetta subdued. After this, the main body of the army, accompanied with artillery and about three hundred horse, exhausted by a long passage, entered the desert, and, notwithstanding the soldiery

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he shall never attempt to compel any of the inhabitants to change their religion, or to make any innovation in their religious usages; but, on the contrary, assures them, that his wish is, that they shall continue to profess their religion, and he will continue to maintain their tranquillity and property by all the means in his power, as long as they shall abstain from any attempt against his person, or the army which he commands.

"The present convention was prepared and signed on the morning of Wednesday, the 20th of the moon Muharem, 1213th year of the Hegira, corresponding to the 17th Messidor, 6th year of the French republic, one and indivisible.

"The signatures of the mufti and cheiks are as follow:

"The poor Seuleiman, mufti of Maliki.
"The poor Ibrahim el Bourgi, chief of the sect Hamste.
"The poor Muhamed el Messira.
"The poor Ahmed, &c.

"Translated by me, secretary-interpreter to the general in "chief, "Venture."

were harassed by the Arabs, who had filled up the wells of Beda and Birket, and exposed, amidst a burning sun and a dry atmosphere, to the most terrible privations, they arrived at Dementour.

After a day's rest they renewed their march, and, on discovering the Nile, instantly sprung forward, and precipitating themselves into the river, eagerly assuaged their thirst. Having waited at Rhaminie until the arrival of the gun-boats and armed shallops, under the orders of generals Pérée and Andreossi, the army proceeded to Miniet-Salamé, where intelligence was received that the Beys were encamped in the neighbourhood, and that an armed flotilla had descended the river on purpose to attack them.

The Mamelukes, to the number of four thousand, were accordingly discovered next morning, with their right supported by the village of Chebreisse, in which they had posted some pieces of cannon, and their left flanked by the Nile, where a few armed vessels were stationed. Two separate and distinct actions immediately took place, one on the water, the other on the land. Instead of supporting the army, as had been intended, the French flotilla being carried towards the enemy by the violence of the wind, and attacked at the same time by the Mamelukes, the Fellahs, and the Arabs, as well as by their germes, a galley and a gun-boat were captured; but in consequence of the exertions of Pérée and Andreossi, assisted by Monge, Berthollet, Junot, and the men of science, these were retaken, and one of the enemy's shallops destroyed.

In the mean time Bonaparte, having advanced to their support, formed his army into five divisions, each of which constituted a hollow square, with the artillery in the angles, and the cavalry and baggage in the centre; in this position he was attacked with great impetuosity by the Mamelukes, who were suffered to approach within the reach of grape-shot, when the cannon suddenly opened, and forced most of them to retreat; but some, bolder than the rest, advanced up to the very muzzles of the muskets, and either perished by ball or the bayonet. Immediately on this, the village of Chebreisse was carried by assault, and the flotilla belonging to

the Beys retired after an action in which about six hundred were killed on the side of the vanquished, and only seventy on that of the victors*.

The army once more resumed its march, and on its approach found all the villages abandoned; neither men nor cattle appeared, so that the troops suffered greatly from want of provisions, although they frequently lay upon heaps of corn. At length the French, on their arrival within sight of Ernbabé, beheld about six thousand Mamelukes, Arabs, and Fellahs, entrenched in front of it, while a grand and important scene presented itself in the rear; for the invaders beheld towards the left those famous pyramids which had already braved the outrages of three thousand years, while the Nile, Cairo, and the site of the ancient Memphis, filled up the back ground.

The same disposition having been made as at Chebreisse, Bonaparte gave orders for a charge, on which the enemy, after menacing the centre, precipitated themselves with their usual impetuosity on the divisions commanded by Desaix and Regnier; but they were received by such a close and well-directed fire of musquetry and grape-shot, that after trying in vain to break their way through a rampart of bayonets, they fell back in disorder, and without a wish to renew the action. In the mean time, general Dugua advanced against the village, while two battalions, under the generals Rampon and Marmont, were detached towards the rear; and notwithstanding a masked battery of forty pieces of artillery, which were, however, ill pointed and badly served, the entrenchments were carried by the bayonet. Fifteen hundred Mamelukes and Fellahs, perceiving their retreat cut off, took post behind a ditch, where they defended themselves with great valour, but not a single man escaped the fury of the French soldiery, being all either killed by the sword, or drowned in the Nile.

Mourad Bey, who commanded upon this occasion, on perceiving the village of Ernbabé carried, thought proper to retreat, leaving behind four hundred camels, his artillery,

* Expedition d'Egypte, par le Général de Division Berthier. Chef de l'Etat-major-général de l'Armée d'Orient. p. 93.

baggage, and provisions; he was pursued as far as Gizeh, but it was found impossible to overtake him. This victory, obtained with the loss of ten men killed and about thirty wounded, presented a rich spoil for the invaders, who seized on many fine Arabian horses, superbly caparisoned, and found all the purses of the vanquished Mamelukes filled with gold. It also opened the gates of Cairo; for the chief inhabitants appeared in the camp of Bonaparte, and solicited his protection, while the fortunate invader seized on this opportunity to visit the pyramids, and prophesied that his exploits would not be forgotten at the end of forty centuries*.

No sooner had the French general obtained the confidence of the Cheiks and principal families by proclamations admirably adapted to their prejudices, than he organised a provisional government, and marched against Mourad Bey, whom he forced to take refuge in Upper Egypt, while Ibrahim Bey fled towards Syria. After giving orders to general Caffarelli to fortify Salehie and Belbeis, he entrusted the command of the former to general Regnier, and on his return towards the capital received intelligence of the disastrous conflict at Aboukir.

## CHAP. X.

### *Battle of the Nile.*

WHILE the grand expedition fitted out in the Mediterranean attracted the attention of all Europe, England appeared to be eminently interested in its destination, as it was evidently intended to increase the acquisitions of her rival, and Portugal had been supposed likely to add fresh trophies to the conqueror of Italy. But whatever might be the ultimate object of the armament, the number and rates of the ships

* "Du haut de ces pyramides quarante siècles nous contemplent."

employed upon this occasion were well known; yet circumstances did not permit her at this period to detach a fleet for the purpose of blocking up Toulon, and preventing the French from leaving that port.

Positive instructions were however sent out to lord St. Vincent, then stationed off Cadiz, to select a sufficient number of line-of-battle ships, the nomination of which was left entirely to his own choice; but the name of the commander to whose discretion they were to be entrusted, was specifically pointed out. This proved to be sir Horatio Nelson, an active and enterprising officer, who had repeatedly distinguished himself during the course of the war by an undaunted resolution and a gallant spirit of enterprise; qualities which were supposed, in cases of emergency, to justify a deviation from the precedency given to seniority by established usage.

The rear-admiral was already in the Mediterranean, having a flying squadron under his command, with his flag hoisted on board the Vanguard; but this force was by no means sufficient to cope with so powerful an armament as that under admiral Brueix. Ten sail were however detached under captain Trowbridge, the moment that the arrival of a reinforcement from the channel fleet had enabled lord St. Vincent to spare such a force; and when these had joined, rear-admiral Nelson finding himself invested with the command of a fleet of fourteen ships, thirteen of which carried seventy-four, and one fifty guns, which he admitted into the line of battle*, determined to proceed in quest of the enemy.

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* English line of battle.

| | | Guns. | Men. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Culloden, | Capt. Trowbridge, | 74 | 590 |
| 2 Theseus, | Capt. Miller, | 74 | 590 |
| 3 Alexander, | Capt. Ball, | 74 | 590 |
| 4 Vanguard, | Rear-adm. Sir H. Nelson, Capt. Berry, | 74 | 595 |
| 5 Minotaur, | Capt. Louis, | 74 | 640 |
| 6 Leander, | Capt. Thompson, | 50 | 343 |

He accordingly repaired to the neighbourhood of Naples, on purpose to obtain information, and afterwards directed his course towards Sicily, and there heard for the first time of the surrender of Malta. On this, he immediately took on board expert pilots, and was the first commander who ever passed through the strait of Messina with a fleet of men-of-war.

Having learned that, after staying no more than a week, the French had left Malta, he steered for Candia, and being now assured that their destination was for Egypt, he sailed thither, and arrived at the mouth of the Nile three whole days before Bonaparte. After consulting with the English consul, supposing his former information to be false, he proceeded again to sea, and repaired to Rhodes; thence he returned to Sicily, and entering the bay of Syracuse, obtained refreshments and assistance of every kind for his squadron.

In the course of a few days, the admiral sailed once more in quest of the enemy, and having received undoubted information that the French fleet had been for some time in Egypt, he steered once more for Alexandria, and on his approaching the coast, discovered thirteen sail of line-of-battle ships at anchor*.

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| | | *Guns.* | *Men.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 7 Swiftsure, - | Capt. Hallowell, - - | 74 - | 590 |
| 8 Audacious, - | Capt. Gould, - - - | 74 - | 590 |
| 9 Defence, - | Capt. J. Peyton, - - | 74 - | 590 |
| 10 Zealous, - | Capt. Hood, - - | 74 - | 590 |
| 11 Orion, - | Capt. Sir J. Saumarez, - | 74 - | 590 |
| 12 Goliath, - | Capt. Foley, - - | 74 - | 590 |
| 13 Majestic, - | Capt. Westcott, - - | 74 - | 590 |
| 14 Bellerophon, - | Capt. Darby, - - | 74 - | 590 |

La Mutine brig, T. M. Hardy.

* French line of battle.

| | *Guns.* | *Men.* |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Le Guerrier, - - - | 74 - | 700 |
| 2. Le Conquerant, - - - | 74 - | 700 |
| 3. Le Spartiate, - - - | 74 - | 700 |
| 4. L'Aquilon, - - - - | 74 - | 700 |

The position occupied by the French had been already celebrated in history, as the scene of a famous combat between Augustus Cæsar and Mark Anthony, near nineteen hundred years since, which decided the empire of the world. On the present depended the naval superiority of two rival nations, the immediate renewal of the war on the continent of Europe and the eventual possession of Egypt.

Admiral Brueix, instead of returning to France, or entering the old harbour, where he might have anchored in safety, had chosen to wait the event of an action at Aboukir*. He accordingly moored his thirteen ships at the distance of two-thirds of a cable's length from each other; his flanks were strengthened by gun-boats; his own flag was flying on

| | | Guns. | Men. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5. Le Souverain Peuple, | - - - | 74 | 700 |
| 6. Le Franklin, | rear-admiral Blanquet, | 80 | 800 |
| 7. L'Orient, | Adm. Brueix, commander in chief. Capt. Casa Bianca, | 120 | 1010 |
| 8. Le Tonant, | - - - | 80 | 800 |
| 9. L'Heureux, | - - - | 74 | 700 |
| 10. Timoleon, | - - - | 74 | 700 |
| 11. Le Mercure, | - - - | 74 | 700 |
| 12. Le Guillaume Tell, | rear admiral Villeneuve, | 80 | 800 |
| 13. Le Généreux, | - - - | 74 | 700 |

Frigates.

1. Le Diane, 48 *guns*, 300 *men*.
2. Le Justice, 44 300
3. L'Artemise, 36 *guns*, 250 *men*.
4. La Sérieuse, 36 250

* The jealousy that subsisted between the French commanders by sea and land, produced the battle of Aboukir. It was the decided opinion of Bonaparte, that the fleet ought to enter the old harbour, and the channel, which proved to be half a cable's length in breadth, was accordingly sounded for this purpose. The depth of water proved sufficient for all the squadron (two of which, Le Chausse and Le Dubois, had already tried it,) except the Orient, and it was proposed to lessen her drought by the removal of the stores.

The admiral, however, having exhibited a marked disinclination to this project, his ships were supplied with rice from Rosetta, and he was requested by the commander in chief, on his leaving Alexandria, either to sail for Corfu or Toulon.

board L'Orient, carrying one hundred and twenty-guns, and stationed in the centre: while a little isle to the left, provided with a battery of cannon and mortars, enfiladed the whole; in fine, the disposition exhibited a marked and fatal similarity to the position occupied by the Ottoman fleet, when destroyed by the Russians in the bay of Tschemené.

On reconnoitring the position of the enemy, admiral Nelson, who had the choice of the point of attack, determined on an evolution never attempted hitherto by any commander, and which would not have been justifiable now perhaps, had he not known that he was seconded by veteran officers, and sailors habituated to victory. Notwithstanding the enemy was evidently drawn up along the margin of deep water, and moored as close to the shoals as possible, yet he was led to suppose that a channel must still be left between them and the shore, and that wherever the French could swing the English might float.

The sun was about to set, and darkness likely to ensue before there was a possibility of carrying the experiment into practice; but it was his fixed determination to make an immediate and decisive attack by piercing the line, and after surrounding part, to destroy or capture the whole of the squadron.

The fleet having worn on its approach, and formed the order of battle, a signal was accordingly made to engage from van to centre, both to windward and leeward; but as it advanced for that purpose, the Culloden struck on the northern shore of the Bequier island, and remained unserviceable: this circumstance, which on other occasions would have been considered as eminently disastrous, and perhaps have put a period to the whole enterprise, produced no ill effect whatsoever; on the contrary, it contributed to the preservation of two other vessels, she being considered by the Alexander and Leander, then in her wake, as a beacon or strand mark, which by pointing out, enabled them to avoid the danger.

Captain Foley in the Goliath, who now led, being followed by the Zealous, the Orion, and the Theseus, notwithstanding they were assailed by the batteries on shore, and the gunboats stationed on the flank, attacked the van ships of the French in succession as they came up, and then pushed in be-

tween their line of battle and the land; while the Vanguard, with the admiral's flag on board, and the signal for close action still flying, kept on the outside, and came to anchor exactly opposite to the Spartiate, a ship of her own rate. In the mean time, the Minotaur was opposed to the Aquilon, the Defence to the Souverain Peuple, and the Swiftsure of seventy-four to the Franklin an eighty-gun ship carrying the flag of rear-admiral Blanquet the second in command: but the most unequal part of the contest was reserved for captain Darby of the Bellerophon, a seventy-four gun ship, which had to oppose the commander in chief in the Orient; but he was soon assisted by the Alexander, captain Ball, who assumed such a position as enabled him to annoy, although he could not silence, the tremendous batteries of their antagonist. A little after this, the Leander of fifty guns, which could not be considered as appertaining to the line of battle, anchored in a most judicious station, by placing a spring upon her cable, and opening a well-directed fire on the Franklin and Le Peuple Souverain, which she would have been unable to have contended with had they not been previously engaged, contributed greatly to the general success.

It is evident from the masterly disposition of the British fleet, which had thus doubled upon and engaged with only half of the enemy's while the remainder was obliged to remain inactive, that the result must have eventually proved fortunate; more especially as, from the nature of an action during which the yards and rigging of the adverse ships were not unfrequently entangled together, the English seamen were enabled to display their wonted superiority in a close fight. However, although some of the van had already struck, the fate of the engagement was not as yet decided; for those in the rear were untouched, and the Orient, which still continued to pour forth successive broadsides from all her decks, seemed to prove a match for her adversaries; but a little after nine she was perceived to be on fire, and, in the course of about an hour more, blew up with a most terrible explosion, the force of which was so great, as to shatter her upper works to pieces, and endanger the safety of her adversaries. Notwithstanding this awful spectacle, the combat was not sus-

pended until day-light: even then, after a short interval, it was again resumed, as several vessels of force still displayed the French flag, nor did it wholly cease until about noon, when the victory was complete*.

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* Admiral Brueix has been blamed for not standing to sea, and engaging the British fleet. But it ought to be recollected, that two English admirals (Barrington and Hood) rendered themselves famous by occupying defensive situations in the West Indies, on nearly similar occasions, and baffling the efforts of superior fleets.

But the French commander appears to have been indefensible:

1. In omitting to strengthen his flanks by means of the two Venetian men-of-war then lying useless in the old harbour of Alexandria, which would have presented a more formidable bulwark than the batteries on the little island and the gun-boats, which indeed annoyed but never once interrupted the evolutions of the British squadron.

And 2. In forgetting to moor his fleet in such a manner as to *tail* on the shoals, and thus prevent the enemy from doubling upon and getting between them and the land.

Achard, a *lieutenant de vaisseau*, in his account of this action, condemns the conduct of the French commander. He asserts, that the fleet ought to have received the English under sail; but if a defensive position was preferred, the ships should have been moored with one anchor a-head and another a-stern, and the battery on the isle strengthened by heavy artillery:

1. De mouiller le vaisseau de tête sur les bancs, un ancre avant et une arrière, l'escadre formant l'angle obtus, le pointe de l'angle ouest, les vaisseaux beauprè sur poupe;

2. D'établir une batterie de douze pièces de trente-six sur l'isle, qui aurait defendre la tête de notre ligne.

3. Pour serrer tout-à-fait la ligne, il fallait placer vaisseau le Causse & le Dubois, qui étaient à Alexandrie, en tête de la ligne, avec deux des navires devenus inutiles qui étaient dans le port.

He describes the French armament as consisting of thirteen sail of the line, four frigates, two bomb-ketches, and two corvettes, carrying one thousand two hundred and sixteen pieces of artillery, and commanded by the admirals Brueix, Blanquet, Villeneuve, Du Chaile, and Decrots; and asserts that the English fleet, of fourteen sail of the line and a sloop of war, mounting one thousand and thirty-two cannon, was piloted along the channel by a germe, with Frenchmen on board. Among a variety of other interesting particulars, he observes:

1. That Le Guerrier was originally moored close to the bank,

Thus ended a naval battle, which will be ever memorable in the annals, not only of England but of Europe. The result was, that out of a fleet of thirteen sail, the admiral of one hundred and twenty guns, and the Timoleon of seventy-four, were burnt; while two eighty-gun ships, the Franklin and Tonnant, and seven of seventy-four, were captured. Two vessels of the line, the Guillaume Tell, commanded by rear-admiral Villeneuve, and the Généreux, put to sea during the general confusion, and with two frigates found means to escape, notwithstanding the Zealous, captain Hood, was sent in pursuit of them: but they did not long remain in possession of the enemy, having been seized soon after; so that the whole of the armament was thus either taken, sunk, or destroyed by fire.

The loss of men on the part of the French has never been ascertained, but it is calculated at about six thousand: that of the English amounted to no more than two hundred and eighteen killed, and six hundred and seventy-seven wounded; of these the largest portion appertained to the Bellerophon, the Majestic, and the Vanguard. One officer of the rank of captain only perished; this was captain Westcott, who was killed early in the action: but the fight was continued with great gallantry by lieutenant, now captain, Cuthbert. Admiral Nelson himself was wounded in the head, and carried off the deck; he was succeeded by captain Berry, who displayed the same courage and intrepidity as his commander.

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in five fathoms and a half, but was ordered to move forward, notwithstanding the representations of the captain;

2. That the crews of the head most ships were all desirous to fire, the moment that the leading vessels of the English were within half cannon-shot; but that the commanders refused until a signal for that purpose should be made by the admiral, in consequence of which the enemy were permitted to choose their position at leisure;

3. That instead of holding a council of war, or making preparations for defence, a distribution of rice actually took place among the ships, notwithstanding the English were in sight from two to six, when the action commenced;

And 4. That the utmost confusion was visible on board the admiral's ship, which was *set on fire, not by the enemy's guns, but by mere carelessness, several casks of linseed oil having been left on the deck.*

## CHAP. XI.

*Great Events produced in Europe by Lord Nelson's Victory—The Porte declares War against France—Russia sends a Fleet into the Mediterranean—The King of Naples marches against Rome—and the King of Sardinia is forced to abdicate Piedmont.*

WHILE the brilliant and decisive victory of the Nile was celebrated throughout England with bonfires and illuminations, and the king and two houses of parliament were eager to bestow marks of favour on the fleet*, the sensation was felt from one end of Europe to another; but it was at Rastadt where the effect became most evident. The deputation of the empire had already agreed to a plan of indemnities, by

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It ought not to pass without remark, however, that this account neither corresponds with the report of the English officers, who affirmed that the fire of L'Orient was incessant and tremendous, nor with his own assertion, that previously to the bursting out of the flames the Bellerophon was about to strike to her.

* His majesty conferred the dignity of a baron of Great Britain, with a pension of 3000*l.* per annum on the admiral, who was accordingly called up to the house of peers by the style and dignity of baron Nelson of the Nile. The grand-signior also transmitted a superb diamond chelengk, or plume of triumph, taken from one of the Imperial turbans: and the king of Naples, at a later period, granted the title of duke of Bronte, with an estate in Sicily.

The captains E. Berry and T. B. Thompson received the honour of knighthood, and the other commanders were presented with gold medals. The Turkish sultan sent a purse of two thousand sequins to be distributed among the wounded; and a much larger sum was raised for the widows and children of those who perished in the action, by public subscription.

Translation of a note from the Ottoman Porte, to his excellency Mr. Smith, minister-plenipotentiary from the king of Great Britain.

"IT is but lately that, by a written communication, it has been made known how much the Sublime Porte rejoiced at the first advice received of the English squadron in the White Sea having defeated the French squadron off Alexandria in Egypt.

means of which no less than forty-four of the secular and ecclesiastical states were to make immense sacrifices to obtain peace, and the Rhine, in consequence of a secret article of the treaty of Campo Formio, was to be the common boundary between France and Germany; but the attack on Switzerland and Rome, and the impolitic expedition of Bonaparte into Egypt, joined to the opposition experienced by him there, and, above all, the recent catastrophe of the French navy, rendered a new contest on the continent unavoidable.

Although Austria had obtained by the late peace an accession to, rather than a diminution of, her territories, the cabinet of Vienna was determined to try the fortune of a new war, and accordingly, under pretence of maintaining the integrity of the empire, evinced the most unequivocal marks of hostility. The Ottoman Porte too, which had lately exhibited great jealousy at seeing Istria and Dalmatia occupied by the Imperial troops, now evinced its displeasure at the late unqualified aggression on the part of "a man of the name of Bonaparte, calling himself a French general, and who in that capacity had made war on the Turkish province of Egypt." "Some of his emissaries," it is added in this memorial, "have pretended to persuade the inhabitants of that

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By recent accounts, comprehending a specific detail of the action, it appears now more positive, that his Britannic majesty's fleet has actually destroyed the best ships the French had in their possession. This joyful event, therefore, laying this empire under an obligation, and the service rendered by our much esteemed friend, admiral Nelson, on this occasion, being of a nature to call for public acknowledgment, his Imperial majesty, the powerful, formidable, and most magnificent grand-signior, has destined, as a present in his imperial name to the said admiral, a diamond aigrette (chelengk,) and a sable fur with broad sleeves; besides two thousand zequins, to be distributed among the wounded of his crew. And as the English minister is constantly zealous to contribute, by his endeavours to the increase of friendship between the two courts, it is hoped he will not fail to make known this circumstance to his court, and to solicit the permission of the powerful and most august king of England, for the said admiral to put on and wear the said aigrette and pelice.

"*September* 8, 1798."

country, that they have been sent by Mahomet to give them perfect liberty and happiness, and render their religion the sovereign religion on earth; but the people have answered that Mahomet does not authorise injustice, and that they can place no faith in such promises from those who have denied their God, and renounced their own prophet."

In a formal manifesto published nine days after, the Ottoman court calls all Europe to witness, that notwithstanding the frequent invitations of the combined powers, the most rigorous neutrality had been persevered in on its part, although great offence had been given by the dispersion of seditious papers, and the employment of secret agents, with a view of stirring up the inhabitants of Natolia and the Morea, as well as those of the islands of the Archipelago, to revolt. After stating the various subterfuges recurred to by the French ministers, with a view of either concealing or palliating their injustice, it is added, "that, contrary to the rights of nations, and in violation of the ties subsisting between the two courts, an army, in a manner altogether unprecedented, and like a band of pirates, had suddenly invaded Egypt, the most precious among the provinces of the Ottoman Porte, of which they took forcible possession at a time when they had experienced nothing but the sincerest demonstrations of friendship." That country "being the portal of the two venerable cities, Mecca and Medina," the Sublime Porte was pleased to assert, "that to wage war upon this occasion is become a precept of religion incumbent upon all mussulmen;" and it is intimated towards the conclusion, "that the French ambassador and all his retinue had been sent to the Seven Towers, where they were to be detained as hostages." Such was the animosity now displayed against the republic, that the grand-vizier, Izzid Mehemmed Pacha, was not only deposed, as being too much attached to its interests, but the rancorous enmity against a rival nation was so far abated as to allow two sail of the line, commanded by rear-admiral Ouschakoff, to sail through the Dardanelles, in express opposition to all the maxims of Turkish policy.

But the most active member of the new confederacy was the emperor Paul, who had sent a large fleet into the Sound

early in the spring, under the admirals Kruse and De Litta. His preparations both by sea and land were extremely formidable; for while a powerful squadron had obtained permission from the Ottoman Porte to sail into the Mediterranean on purpose to subdue the Venetian islands, an army was approaching Germany by land, which menaced the French republic not only with a new war, but with new enemies, far more to be dreaded than those she had already contended with.

This alliance against France was strengthened rather by the activity than the power of the king of Naples, who having not only admitted rear-admiral Nelson and his victorious fleet into his ports, in express contravention to one of the articles* of the late treaty of peace, but also conferred honours and rewards on the hero of the Nile, knew that he was marked out for destruction. His majesty accordingly entered into engagements with the courts of Vienna and London, from the former of which he expected a reinforcement of sixteen thousand troops, and from the latter, not only the protection of a naval force, but also a subsidy. In the mean time, having obliged the convents and the clergy to furnish him with money, he had recourse to new levies, and soon obtained a numerous, rather than a formidable army. But as his own dominions could not supply him with a commander, he applied to the emperor, and obtained the assistance of general Mack; notwithstanding this, he determined to place himself at the head of his troops, and instead of waiting for, march in quest of, the enemy.

The immediate object of his ambition appeared to be magnanimous; for Ferdinand IV. who had hitherto reclined on the lap of pleasure, was suddenly smitten with a passion for military glory, and meditated the splendid project of relieving the people of Rome from the rapacity and injustice of the invaders, avenging the cause of the dethroned pontiff, and forcing the hitherto victorious French to repass the Alps as in former times, leaving the destiny of Italy to be regulated by her own princes.

* Article 3.

His majesty accordingly published a manifesto, dated at San Germano, in which, after stating to his subjects "that he was about to set out at the head of the brave defenders of their country, full of confidence in the Lord of Hosts," he intimated that he had left "his dear and well-beloved consort regent during his absence;" and concluded with observing, "that it is better to die gloriously for God and our country, than to live shamefully oppressed."

The Neapolitan troops, accompanied by the king, accordingly marched next day; and the epoch must be allowed to have been peculiarly auspicious, as Bonaparte and his veteran armies were no longer to be contended with, and the march of the Russians towards the frontiers of Germany occupied all the attention of the directory.

On the approach of the Neapolitan army, consisting of sixty thousand combatants, general Championet, being conscious that he could not defend Rome, placed a strong garrison in the castle, and immediately retired. He was followed by the consuls, the senators, and the tribunes of the new republic, and they were in turn succeeded by the king of the Two Sicilies, who took up his residence at the palace of Farnese. It was in this metropolis his majesty learned the joyful intelligence that the French had been forced to evacuate Leghorn; and he now appeared so conscious of the stability of his recent conquest, that he invited the pope to return from Tuscany, and take possession of his capital: but his holiness, although far better calculated for a cloister than a palace, foresaw that the triumph of this monarch, who had not been able to subdue the fortress of St. Angelo, would be but of short duration, and wisely determined not to expose himself to new mortifications.

No sooner had the French general collected a small body of forces, than he determined to advance against the Neapolitans, without regarding the superiority of their numbers. Nor was he mistaken in his opinion of the enemy, for they were overcome in succession by general Rusca at Porto Fermo, and by general Kellermann at Monterosi. On this general Mack concentrated all his forces in an entrenched camp, where he waited the approach of the republicans; he was

however unable to withstand the impetuosity of their attack, for his works were stormed by general Macdonald, and his army so completely routed, that no less than eleven thousand prisoners were taken by the victors, and nearly the whole park of artillery.

This decisive action produced the immediate evacuation of Rome, and Ferdinand IV. after endeavouring in vain to rally his broken and dispirited cohorts, was forced to fly in disorder along the banks of the Garigliano and the Volturna, happy to be able to regain his own dominions with the scanty remainder of that numerous army which he had so recently commanded. But even then he did not find himself safe from his adventurous enemy; for he was pursued thither by general Championet, who, seizing on Gaeta, marched onwards to Naples, refusing every proposition to treat or negociate, and threatening the fugitive monarch and his adherents with the most exemplary vengeance. Thus, in the course of a few weeks, that very prince, who was so lately proclaimed a victor in the capitol, and, although considered as a vassal of the Holy See, had generously offered to restore the popedom, was constrained on the last day of the year to abdicate all his continental dominions, and, taking refuge with his court on board an English man-of-war, seek for protection in Sicily.

But the fate of the king of Sardinia was far more disastrous and deplorable. This prince had been lately engaged in a contest with the Ligurian republic, about some disputed territories, and in consequence of recent events, became an object of suspicion to the French government, which by means of the army of Italy had the whole of the royal family in its power. The proceedings against Charles Emanuel I. commenced with a manifesto, complaining that some of the French troops had been killed by assassins, and that when the Neapolitans marched against Rome, considerable bodies of Piedmontese had at the same time moved forward towards Loano and Oneilla. No one specific accusation however was adduced against the forlorn monarch; and although the duke D'Aoste, his brother and heir to the crown, was accused "like another old man of the mountain" of retaining a band

of cut-throats in his pay, yet the conduct of his majesty seems to have been exempt from reproach. Notwithstanding this, being afraid perhaps lest he should be sent a prisoner into France, he agreed with general Joubert to subscribe an act of renunciation, in which stipulating only for the exercise of the catholic religion for his subjects, the security of his own person, and the enjoyment of his liberty and property for the prince de Carignan, the ill-fated monarch was pleased to renounce the exercise of his power and authority, to order the Piedmontese army to consider itself as a portion of the French troops, and "to surrender the citadel of Turin as a pledge that no resistance whatever should be attempted against the present act, which has emanated purely from his own will."

WHILE a king in the south of Europe was thus bereaved of his richest territories by the suspicious policy of a foreign enemy, one of the fairest portions of the dominions of another in the north was for some time in jeopardy, in consequence of the discontents of his own subjects.

## CHAP. XII.

*Origin of the War in Ireland—Arrest of the Delegates—Insurrection in the South—Actions at Enniscorthy—Ross—and Vinegar-hill—General Humbert lands with a small Body of French—They are victorious at Castlebar—But defeated at Ballinamuck—Extinction of the Rebellion—Reflections.*

AT a period when France had put an end to the Vendéan war, Britain unfortunately beheld an insurrection in the bowels of the empire; and as the former contest had been fomented and prolonged by the policy of the neighbouring powers, so the present appears to have assumed a formidable shape, and even in part to have originated, in consequence of the machinations of a hostile state.

The history of no nation in Europe, perhaps, exhibits such an uniform series of misery, oppression, and misfortunes, as that of Ireland. Never acknowledging the undisputed authority of a single monarch in the early period of its history, the unhappy island was split into hostile districts; and while the various septs denounced perpetual vengeance against each other, the petty toparchs contended for superiority with all the eagerness of rivalship, and all the injustice generated by the lust of power. Nor were the people subject to the calamities of war alone; they were cruelly oppressed during the short intervals of peace, by their chieftains and tanists, whose horses and dogs they were obliged to feed, in consequence of certain exactions, denominated cosherings and sessings, which, in the strong language of a celebrated lawyer, * "made the lord an absolute tyrant, and the tenant a very slave or villain; and in one respect more miserable than bond-slaves; for commonly the bond-slave," says he, "is fed by his lord, but here the lord was fed by his bond-slave."

Although often agitated in former periods, it would now be equally vain and unprofitable to enquire whether Ireland yielded by treaty, or was overcome by the sword? The fact is, that the natives were treated like a conquered people, and denied a participation in the English laws. Stigmatised as helots, even intermarriage with them was deemed a capital crime, and their murder has been more than once adjudged to be no felony. Amidst such cruel and impolitic restraints, it was not to be expected that the people would emerge from barbarity; on the contrary, they were rendered discontented and ferocious by oppression, and three successive national insurrections, the fruits of a false and perfidious policy, prove better than any testimony, however strong, that their servitude was equally galling and ungrateful. All the bitterness of religious intolerance, in consequence of the Reformation, was superadded to civil disabilities; and a black catalogue of penal statutes exposed the unhappy Catholic to a variety of fines, mulcts, and disfranchisements, from which

* Sir John Davies.

the more fortunate and less numerous Protestants were of course exempt.

At length, towards the close of the American war, the spirit and loyalty of an oppressed nation procured a melioration of its condition, and a milder and more liberal system began to be adopted: but this only extended at first to commercial and parliamentary independence; for even then those of the Romish faith, constituting an immense majority in point of numbers, but far inferior in respect to wealth, remained utterly bereft of their elective franchises, and subject to a variety of disadvantages.

In the course of a few years more*, the exercise of many of the social rights was restored to them; and a prospect of full redress opened on the commencement of a war which instead of relieving, has entailed infinite misery upon Ireland. Yet something essential was achieved† in favour of the bulk of the nation, and the glimpse of complete emancipation held out by a popular nobleman‡, in consequence of which supplies were voted with equal promptitude and liberality.

The sudden recal of the new viceroy, and the denial of the promised boon, unhappily became the signal for a civil war; and those who had hitherto confined themselves to constitutional remedies alone, now determined to recur to the sword. Many of the societies formed for the purpose of obtaining a redress of grievances, and a parliamentary reform, were perverted to the purposes of insurrection; while a new one, under the title of "United Irishmen," received all who were disaffected, after pledging their fidelity by the solemnity of an oath. A system of representation, founded on the customs

* In 1792 the Irish Catholics were permitted by act of parliament, 1. To practise as barristers and attorneys; 2. To intermarry with Protestants; 3. To educate youth, in the capacity of school-masters, without obtaining a licence from an ordinary of the church of England; and 4. To send their children abroad for instruction.

† In consequence of a recommendation from the throne, in January, 1793, many other restrictive laws were repealed; but Catholics were still prohibited from sitting in parliament, or enjoying any of the great offices of state.

‡ Earl Fitzwilliam, then lord-lieutenant.

of our Saxon ancestors, and adopted by the venerable Alfred, was prepared, formed, and completed, by the labours of an aspiring individual*, with a mystery equal, and an effect still more general, than the secret tribunals which at one period kept a large portion of Germany in awe. By an ascending scale of representation, from decennaries and hundreds, to baronies, provinces, and at length to the whole kingdom, such an interchange of opinions took place, and such a force was prepared, as had never before been witnessed in modern times, in the face of an existing government.

At the head of the whole presided a directory of five†, possessing unbounded influence over all, but known only to a few: the members consisted partly of Catholics, and partly of Protestants; some of them had been in parliament, and were either sprung from, or connected with, the first families of the kingdom, and they were all noted for their abilities. These, dazzled with the success of America and France, and warmed with the theories of the day, conceived the romantic idea of shaking off all dependence upon England, converting the monarchy into a republic, and effecting a complete toleration in respect to religion; but neither the state of the country nor of the people was calculated for such a change. It was determined, however, to attempt it; and the executive, which had its ambassador at Paris, and whose diplomatic agents were supposed to have some influence on the late negociations of Lisle, was at length resolved to try its strength with the established government, aided by all the wealth and all the power of Great Britain. So conscious were the members indeed of their own power, and so much did they dread the influence of foreign domination, that they

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* Theobald Wolfe Tone, a Protestant, educated at Trinity College, Dublin, and a barrister, practising in the courts of law.

† Lord Edward Fitzgerald, brother to the duke of Leinster; Mr. Arthur O'Connor, nephew of lord Longueville, descended from Roderic O'Connor, king of Connaught; Mr. Oliver Bond, a reputable manufacturer of Dublin; Mr. Emmet, a barrister of considerable eloquence; and Dr. M'Neven a physician, and a man of great talents, who acted for some time as the secretary-general to the executive.

expressly stipulated with their ally on the continent, for a certain limited assistance only*.

But, fortunately for England, their schemes were completely blasted, by the treachery of a subordinate agent, the nominal treasurer of a county and a colonel of the insurgents. In consequence of his information fourteen delegates and three members of the directory were arrested; a fourth soon after died of the wounds which he received in his own defence, and the whole plot was at length completely developed. New directors were indeed nominated, but a new discovery not only revealed their names and intentions, but consigned two of them to death†.

In the mean time the government had recourse to measures which subjected some of its members to censure; and the army itself appears to have acted, according to the manly confession of the commander in chief‡, with an indefensible degree of severity. By a law lately passsd, the viceroy was enabled to proclaim certain districts out of the king's peace; but lord Camden deemed it proper on his own authority, not only to put forage and provisions in requisition, but also to supersede the ordinary tribunals of justice, and issue orders for the trial of civil offences by means of courts martial.

The remaining leaders, who had determined on a general insurrection, particularly in the province of Leinster, and not only fixed on a day for that purpose, but meditated an attack on the camp of Loughlinstown, the park of artillery at Chapel-izod, and even the castle of Dublin, at the same time, were thus anticipated in their daring attempt, while the capital was subjected to military jurisdiction, and the most efficacious measures adopted for its preservation.

But although many of the chiefs had been secured, and

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* Report of the secret committee of the house of commons.

† Two brothers of the name of Sheares.

‡ General sir Ralph Abercromby actually declared in public orders, "that the very disgraceful frequency of courts martial, and the many complaints of irregularities in the conduct of the troops in Ireland, had too unfortunately proved the army to be in a state of licentiousness, which must render it formidable to every one but the enemy."

those not as yet arrested were overwhelmed with dismay, a partial revolt actually took place, on the day subsequent to that fixed upon for a general insurrection, of which the stoppage of the mail coaches was to be the signal. An assault was made by a half-armed rabble on the town and gaol of Naas; but as their scheme had been discovered, they were instantly repulsed by a body of the military*, about one hundred and forty killed on the spot, and three of the leaders executed. A more numerous party was defeated by general Dundas, near Kilcullen; and on the preceding day, a small detachment, consisting of between four and five hundred, which had ventured to advance as far as Rathfarnham, was dispersed by only thirty-five dragoons under lord Raden, many being put to death in their flight, but † two of their chiefs were reserved for public execution.

These feeble and unconnected attemps were not countenanced by a general rising; for Ulster, in which province alone one hundred and fifty thousand United Irishmen are said to have been enrolled and mustered, in consequence of the unpromising state of affairs wisely declined the contest; and the progress of the rebellion, unsanctioned even by the formality of a manifesto, had hitherto resembled the capricious freaks of a discontented mob, rather than the united efforts of a large portion of the nation.

But the agitators had succeeded in implanting certain principles into the minds of the common people; and these appear to have struck their roots into a congenial soil; for although one attempt on Carlow and another on Kildare failed, while a still more formidable commotion at Tallagh-hill was suppressed, yet the inhabitants of the counties of Wicklow and Wexford, being taught to expect immediate assistance from France*, ran to arms, and experienced a transitory but delusive success.

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* The Armagh militia, 4th dragoon guards, and Ancient British Fencibles.

† Ledwick and Keough.

* So general was the disaffection in the latter county, which is considered among the most industrious in Ireland, that all

Father John Murphy, who had received the degree of doctor of divinity in Spain, and at this period officiated as priest in the barony of Gorey and parish of Kilcormic, appears to have been the first to recur to arms in this quarter. He collected his forces by lighting a fire on a hill, called Corrigrua, which was answered by a similar signal on an eminence contiguous to his own house at Boolavogue. After disarming the Protestants and burning their houses, a savage mode of warfare but too often perpetrated by both sides on their enemies, they repaired to the village of Oulart, near Kilmeckridge; and as their numbers had now increased to about fourteen thousand, armed chiefly with pikes, they began to acquire confidence.

In the mean time, part of the troops in Wexford, on hearing of the atrocities committed in their neighbourhood, determined to march against and dissipate the insurgents. Accordingly, a detachment of the North Cork, consisting of one hundred and nine picked men, under lieutenant-colonel Foote, with some of colonel Lehunte's yeoman cavalry, marched against the rebels then posted on the side of Oulart-hill. The attack at first proved successful, and the apparent trepidation of the enemy encouraged the assailants to climb the eminence in pursuit of the fugitives; but on their approach they not only found the hedges lined with musketry, but their flanks turned: so complete indeed was the defeat, that the whole party was cut to pieces, the commanding officer, who was wounded by a pike in the breast and arms, a serjeant, and three privates, excepted.

On the succeeding day, Dr. Murphy issued circular notices written in red ink*, commanding all persons capable of

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the inhabitants rose in the course of a single night. Mr. Ogle, one of the members for Dublin, and an active supporter of what is termed the protestant ascendancy, was so well acquainted with their intentions, that, on hearing a sudden noise, while in bed, he immediately predicted that a general revolt had taken place, which being confirmed soon after, he and his family were obliged to seek protection in Duncannon fort.

* See "Memoirs of the different Rebellions in Ireland," by sir Richard Musgrave, bart. p. 343.

bearing arms to join him immediately, for the purpose of attacking Enniscorthy; and such was the reputation he had acquired by his late victory, that great numbers flocked to his standard. Having said mass on Ballyorle-hill, and set fire to some houses in the neighbourhood, their leader immediately marshalled about six thousand of his followers, and they were soon after seen on the Newtown-barry road, formed into an immense column, which extended a mile in length; another body, posted on an adjoining eminence, advanced at the same time on the opposite side, and endeavoured to throw the troops into disorder by means of a stratagem†. They were gallantly and successfully opposed for a considerable time, by about three hundred and forty men who occupied the principal outlets; but as a number of disaffected persons was supposed to be in the place, and this small force was incompetent to a prolonged defence, it was determined to evacuate it. No sooner had this been effected, than it was taken possession of by the enemy, who formed a camp on Vinegar-hill early next morning, threw up entrenchments, erected batteries, and regulated all military affairs by means of a committee of twelve, four of which were priests*.

The peasantry now flocked thither in such numbers, that the main body soon consisted of ten thousand men. Sentinels, vedettes, picquet-guards, were posted around, and all the appearance of regular troops affected; but it was easy to perceive, that the majority were utterly unacquainted with the use of arms, while the motley appearance of the tents, consisting chiefly of quilts, blankets, and carpets, gave a grotesque and ridiculous appearance to the whole. Nor did they fail to imitate the army in other points of view; for having converted the ruins of a windmill into a gaol, they collected prisoners, and having tried them by the summary jurisdiction of a court-martial, several of the unhappy victims were

† They are said to have collected and driven all the cattle in the neighbourhood before them.

* Fathers Murphy, Roche, Kearns, and Clinche. It appears that there were generally twenty priests in the camp.

occasionally shot or piked in the front of the rebel line. Several protestant women also, who fell into the hands of their scouts and foraging parties, were not only treated with barbarity, but subjected to violation. To the credit, however, of one of the leaders, called general Sutton, he made use of his authority to restrain such atrocious conduct†.

To inure their followers to military exploits, irruptions were made in various directions. One body of insurgents, under the direction of father Kearns, a priest, seized on the town of Borris, and burnt all the houses belonging to the yeomen; but the assailants were repulsed in an attack on the mansion-house, notwithstanding they had provided themselves with a howitzer. About this time also they formed a camp on the hill of Forth, commonly called the Three-Rock Mountain, and on this the detachment marched in procession from Enniscorthy, headed by father John Murphy, with a large crucifix in his arms. In the course of a few days, they were fortunate enough to surprise part of the Meath regiment and a detachment of the royal artillery with two howitzers; while major-general Fawcett, who had marched with eighty of the thirteenth regiment and a small number of militia for the purpose of supporting those troops, on hearing of their defeat were reluctantly obliged to return to Duncannon fort.

On the same day, lieutenant-colonel Maxwell, on being informed of these events, advanced against the enemy with two hundred of the Donegal regiment, and about one hundred and fifty yeoman cavalry; but he soon found himself and party annoyed by means of a heavy fire from behind rocks,

† Proclamation. "Whereas information has been received, that many outrages are committing through the country, on the wives and daughters of several people: this is therefore to desire and command all officers to use every exertion to apprehend and bring into Vinegar-hill camp each and every person who shall be found guilty of such offences, that they may be dealt with accordingly.

"Given under my hand at Vinegar-hill camp,
this 17th day of June, 1798, the first year of liberty.
"Patrick Sutton, commander in chief."

hedges, and houses. The howitzers also, which had been taken in the morning, were brought into action, and some of the matrosses, who had been saved expressly for that purpose, forced, by the terror of the pike, to point them at their fellow-soldiers. They at the same time drove a number of horses along the road, for the purpose of embarrassing the troops; and this stratagem, which failed on another occasion, proved successful here; for the cavalry, being pent up in a defile and unable to act, wheeled round from the galling fire, and retired*. On perceiving this, the insurgents rushed down from the mountain on purpose to cut off the retreat of the infantry, which they would have effected, had it not been for the resolute conduct of the Donegal regiment, which repulsed them by means of a few well-directed vollies of musquetry, and then fell back on Wexford.

That town, seated at the mouth of the Slaney, at no great distance from the camp at Vinegar-hill, and only three miles from their position on the Forth mountain, became the next object against which the insurgents determined to direct their operations. The successful result of the late skirmishes, the acquisition of two pieces of artillery, together with the possession of a large quantity of arms and ammunition, tended to increase their audacity and their numbers: while the spirit of fanaticism was kept alive among the ignorant multitude by means of masses and ghostly exhortations, the faith of some of them is reported to have been raised to such a ridiculous excess, as actually to believe that the balls of the heretics could make no impression upon a true believer.

While they were meditating an assault on Wexford, lieutenant-colonel Maxwell determined to evacuate the place, and a deputation from such of the inhabitants as chose to remain arrived at the Three-Rock Mountain, where the rebels had increased to ten thousand, on purpose to announce that a white flag, in token of submission, had been hoisted on the town-house.

A column was accordingly put in motion under general

* "Memoirs of the different Rebellions in Ireland," by sir R. Musgrave, bart. p. 385.

Roche, lately a serjeant in the yeoman cavalry; and Mr. Keugh, who had risen from the humble station of a private to the rank of captain-lieutenant in the sixty-fifth regiment, during the American war, was nominated governor by acclamation. On entering the place, the insurgents immediately liberated all the prisoners confined in the gaol, and soon after nominated one of them, Mr. Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey, a protestant gentleman of considerable fortune, commander in chief* of the United army of the county of Wexford.

Flushed with a series of uninterrupted success, they now marshalled their forces, and determined on achieving still greater enterprises. For this purpose they formed their army into three divisions: one, under the command of a protestant chief†, to whom was assigned the reverend father Philip Roche, of Poulprarsy, in the parish of Killan, as a coadjutor, received orders to encamp on Carrickbyrne-hill, for the purpose of attacking the town of New Ross; a second, under captains Doyle and Redmond, was to proceed from Vinegar-hill, and seize on Newtown-barry, situate in a defile surrounded by high and steep mountains, which would not only give them the command of the Slaney, but open a communication with their associates in the counties of Carlow

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* "At a meeting of the commanders of the United army, held at Carrickbyrne-camp, on the 1st of June, 1798, it was unanimously agreed that the Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey should be appointed and elected commander in chief of the United army of the county of Wexford from and after the first day of June, 1798.

"Signed, by order of the commanding officers of the camp.

"Nicholas Gray, secretary."

"It was likewise agreed that Edward Roche should, from and after the first day of June instant, be elected, and is hereby elected, a general officer of the United army of the county of Wexford.

"Signed, by the above authority.

"N. Gray."

† Mr. Harvey.

and Kildare; the third, led by a person denominated general Perry, accompanied by father Michael Murphy, of Ballycanoe, and father John Murphy, of Boolavogue, was destined to attack Gorey: and such was their confidence, that, after seizing on those places, it was determined to advance with this victorious column against the capital, where their partisans were numerous, intelligent, and indefatigable.

But, after the capture of Wexford, they were fated to experience a number of signal defeats; and as their operations were equally deficient in method and concert, and they had hitherto proved successful from numbers and accident alone, so they were of course dissipated on the first appearance of an effective opposition.

After obtaining possession of Newtown-barry, the assailants were driven out with great slaughter, by a small body of yeomen. They were also foiled, about the same time, in an attack upon Gorey; but a large body, posted on Ballymore-hill, succeeded in defeating colonel Walpole, who, despising such dastardly adversaries, advanced to the attack without the usual military precautions, and fell into an ambuscade at Tubberneering. After having lost their commander, who, by being dressed in full uniform, and mounted on a tall grey horse, became a conspicuous object for the enemy's marksmen, the troops, who were raw and unexperienced, at length retreated in confusion. Two six pounders and a howitzer, seized upon this occasion, being turned against them, the rout would have been complete, but for the good conduct of colonel Cope, of the Antrim militia. This officer rallied and formed his remaining forces on the road so as to impede the progress of the rebels, who now charged in their turn, and at length entered Gorey in pursuit of the fugitives. Arklow also was evacuated; and it was with some difficulty that general Loftus, who had advanced to support colonel Walpole, found means to escape with his feeble detachment across Slievebuoy mountain.

In the mean time an immense number of insurgents, posted on Carrickbyrne-hill, within six miles of Ross, determined on the capture of that place, which, by its commanding situation, was calculated to increase their power and influence. They

accordingly approached it, and as an opportunity had not yet occurred to divide them into companies and regiments, they were formed under the more familiar denominations of parishes and baronies. During their march, they halted for some time at a chapel, where mass was said at the head of each column by their priests, who also sprinkled an abundance of holy water. They then repaired to Corbet-hill, an eminence about a mile and a half from Ross, and formed on its summit with some appearance of regularity.

But the capture of this town was an object of considerable difficulty, as the garrison consisted of twelve hundred effective men, besides one hundred and fifty yeomen, commanded by major-general Johnson. The troops, who had been for some time prepared for the attack, were also judiciously stationed; the infantry and artillery having been posted in a line on the east and south sides of the town, with the cavalry on the quay, and the volunteers at the bridge.

About five o'clock in the morning, thirty thousand insurgents advanced against the town in an irregular manner, uttering hideous yells; about one-fourth was armed with muskets, and the remainder with pikes: they were provided with four small field-pieces and a few swivels, while their fanaticism was aroused and their valour excited by priests, clad in vestments, and carrying crucifixes, who moved slowly through the ranks, and administered divine consolation.

One of the crowd, waving a white handkerchief in his hand, preceded the rest; on being shot by the centinels, it was discovered that he had brought a letter from Mr. Harvey, the newly-elected general, dated at the camp of Corbet-hill, summoning the commanding officer to deliver up the place to the forces assembled against it. "Flushed with victories," says he, "the Wexford forces, innumerable and irresistible, will not be controlled, if they meet with opposition: to prevent, therefore, the total ruin of all property in the town, I urge you to a speedy surrender, which you will be forced to in a few hours with loss and bloodshed, as you are surrounded on all sides."

Having marched up to the place with great resolution, they drove in the advanced guard, took possession of the

alarm posts, and made use of one of the pieces of artillery which they had taken at the Three Rocks, by means of a matross, who was not only tied to it to prevent him from running away, but excited to the performance of his duty by one of the revolters, who on perceiving the elevation to be too great, is reported to have drawn a pistol from his belt and shot him on the spot. The first onset was furious, but they were repulsed at the Three-Bullet-gate, and charged by a detachment of the fifth dragoons; they however rallied soon after, and seized on a piece of artillery, which they immediately turned against the troops. After this they entered the town, and notwithstanding cannon were planted at the cross lanes, so as to sweep the streets as they advanced*, yet such was the weight and impetuosity of the column formed by the assailants, that the main body of the garrison, overpowered by numbers, and intimidated also perhaps by the late successes of the rebels at Enniscorthy, the Three Rocks, Wexford, and Tubberneering, fled over the bridge with great precipitation to the Kilkenny side of the river.

Fortunately, however, the place was soon after recaptured by the gallantry of the commanding officer, who had served during the war on the Transatlantic continent. Indignant at beholding the success of the revolters and the sudden panic of his own troops, general Johnson rode up to the fugitives and demanded if they meant to forsake their leader and their countryman? Being received with three cheers, he placed himself at their head, advanced toward the Three-Bullet-gate, where a post was still maintained by the English, and recurring to one of the least culpable stratagems of war, he confidently assured the soldiers stationed there that he had brought a reinforcement from Waterford. Having thus reanimated them by the joyful intelligence, he advanced against and dissipated a column of the enemy; and that nothing might

* It has been confidently asserted that a barber among the insurgents, either unacquainted with the nature of artillery, or rendered insensible to fear by intoxication, crammed his hat and wig into a cannon, and cried out to his companions, "Come on, boys, her mouth is stopped." The gunner, by the application of his match, soon convinced him of his error.

be wanting to secure the fortune of the day, he contrived to turn their rear, at the same time manning the trenches on the outside so as to prevent the arrival of a reinforcement*.

The assailants, who had not improved their first advantage, but consumed that time in drunkenness and devastation which they ought to have employed in securing their victory, were now dispersed and overcome; and as raw troops can never be rallied, they retreated with the utmost speed, first to Corbet and then to Carrickbyrne hills, leaving two thousand six hundred dead behind them. Nor was this signal success obtained by their adversaries without bloodshed, for lord Mountjoy, colonel of the Dublin militia, fell in the first onset, one ensign, four serjeants, and eighty-four men, were killed, and one captain and fifty-seven men wounded.

On the very day that this engagement took place, some of the insurgents hearing of the success of the king's troops, perpetrated a most shocking massacre on several prisoners whom they had confined at Scullabogue; an endeavour has been made to throw the whole of the odium of this transaction on one of the priests, but certain it is, that a layman of the name of Murphy, who commanded there, refused to sanction the atrocity, and turned away with horror from the disgusting scene, which he was unable to prevent; he however had still influence sufficient to rescue a woman from death by observing, "that such a horrid deed would kindle a blush on the cheeks of the Virgin Mary;" nor ought it to be omitted here, that the bodies of the unhappy sufferers were buried by a subscription on the part of the principal leaders.

The ill success of the attack on Ross put a period to the short-lived power of the general in chief, who was immediately deposed from his military command, and appointed to a civil employment, having been nominated president of the council of Wexford: but this gentleman, whose feelings and education wholly disqualified him from taking any share in the excesses that had recently taken place, was by this time ashamed of the misconduct of a peasantry fanaticised to mad-

* Memoirs of the different Rebellions in Ireland, by Sir R. Musgrave, p. 4, 11.

ness, and familiar with every species of crime. The lay commanders, after this period, no longer appear to have enjoyed the confidence of the multitude, for we now find father Roche presiding in the camp on Lacken-hill, and calling on the inhabitants of the adjacent parishes to repair to his standard, by requisitions addressed to the Catholic clergy. Father Michael Murphy at the same time acted in the capacity of general at Gorey; and as his troops had hitherto been successful, and were still flushed with their recent victory at Tubberneering, he meditated a great and important attempt. Undismayed by the late signal defeat at Ross, he determined on marching against Arklow, although at this time defended by a strong garrison; after the capture of which he is said to have intended to advance against the capital itself, wisely judging that the possession of Dublin would in some measure decide the fate of the whole kingdom. Nor ought it to be forgotten that the metropolis was at this period in a state of consternation, for the vice-queen* and many ladies of distinction had fled to England, and the disaffected there were both resolute and numerous.

Although general Needham now occupied Arklow with about one thousand five hundred troops, consisting of dragoons, militia, fencibles, and yeomanry, the insurgents advanced boldly against it. They, however, did not commence their march until the morning was pretty far advanced; and it was four o'clock in the afternoon before they were perceived, formed in two immense columns, so as to attack the town in the upper and lower extremities at the same time. In addition to their numbers, which have been estimated at about twenty thousand, they were supported by two six-pounders, formerly taken from the regulars, neither injudiciously posted nor ill served, and preceded by an advanced guard, composed of horse and foot. All their motions were evidently intended to out-flank and overpower the garrison, who were formed behind a barricade, strengthened with artillery.

The attack which continued for upwards of two hours,

* Lady Camden.

was as usual fierce; but the steady countenance and incessant fire of the troops, together with the destruction occasioned by the cannon, rendered all their efforts abortive, and they were never able to penetrate into the place. One body was soon defeated and charged by the cavalry under colonel sir W. W. Wynne, who appears to have given no quarter; but the other, which had advanced on the side of the charter-school, and was led by father Michael Murphy, the priest of Ballycanew, made a number of successive but abortive attacks on a barricade, whence they were driven by incessant vollies of musquetry and grape. At length this ecclesiastic, after haranguing his followers, advanced with a standard on which a cross had been emblazoned, but he was soon after killed by a cannon-shot; on this his troops instantly dispersed, and retreated about eight o'clock at night towards Coolgreney in a disorderly manner. They found means however to occupy a formidable station at Limeric-hill, which they evacuated on the approach of the generals Dundas and Loftus.

But notwithstanding these reiterated miscarriages, a numerous body to the amount of twenty thousand, posted on the heights on the banks of the Slaney, called Vinegar-hill, still assumed the appearance of an army, and continued to sustain a drooping cause; luckily this important station was not fortified by heavy artillery, nor strengthened by redoubts on the flanks, nor defended by skill. Against these general Lake, after collecting various detachments, determined to march, and he was fortunate enough to be joined by the Loyal Cheshire, who landed from England two days previously to the battle. The mode of attack adopted upon this occasion, was well calculated to terrify new levies, always diffident of themselves, and afraid of being surrounded. The troops being divided into four distinct columns, advanced against the insurgents under the generals Dundas, Eustace, Duff, and Loftus. A fifth, under general Johnson, having carried the town of Enniscorthy, situated at the base of the hill, the heights were scaled in different directions, so as to menace the front and flanks at the same time. But, notwithstanding these formidable preparations, the revolters were enabled from the natural strength of their position to defend

the lines during an hour and a half, and it was not until they were outflanked and nearly surrounded, that they at length gave way, leaving behind them thirteen light field-pieces: as civil are always more bloody than foreign wars, the slaughter was immense, for no quarter seems to have been given upon this occasion, as those who escaped the musquet when overtaken perished by the merciless bayonet, while so insignificant was the loss on the part of the king's troops, that not above one hundred were either killed or wounded.

The only person of any note who fell on the other side upon this occasion was father Clinch, a priest of Enniscorthy, who was singled out on account of his large white horse, huge scymetar, and broad cross-belts; and the action itself was less bloody than could have been well supposed, as the troops under general Needham were unable to reach the position assigned them, and general Lake could not be prevailed upon to defer the combat until the succeeding day. In consequence of these events an immense column retreated by the east side of the Slaney; part entered Wexford, where many horrid murders were committed on the bridge; while another and more numerous detachment, headed by two priests of the name of Murphy and a third called Roche, reached the Three Rocks, and having held a council of war there, marched across the mountains to the county of Kilkenny.

However, the battle, or rather skirmish, of Vinegar-hill, not only occasioned the dispersion of those who survived the pursuit, but proved fatal to their cause.

An ineffectual attempt was immediately made by the pretended governor of Wexford to obtain a capitulation; yet, as the offer of pardon to the garrison was accompanied with a stipulation that the chiefs should be delivered up, the insurgents, preferring the chance of death to the baseness of treachery, evacuated the town, which was immediately occupied by major-general Moore, to the no small joy of the remaining inhabitants.

In the mean time, the body of rebels which had retreated from Vinegar-hill and penetrated into the county of Kilkenny by the Scullagh Gap, burned the village of Kil Edmond, and proceeded to Goresbridge, under the command of father

John Murphy, of Ballavouge. Having advanced in column, they were opposed by lieutenant Dixon, who was posted there with a party chiefly composed of dragoons; but he was obliged to retreat, as they had brought a swivel and several pieces of cannon to bear on the post, which he in vain endeavoured to maintain against such a multitude of assailants. But their success was of short duration, for they were pursued by general Dunn and sir Charles Asgill, and having made a stand at Kilcomney-hill, experienced a complete defeat. Murphy, the commander in chief, who fled from the field of battle, was taken soon after, and being conducted to the head-quarters of general sir James Duff, at Tullow, was hanged the same day. After this the body of that sanguinary priest was burnt, and his head, with indiscreet zeal, placed on the market-house—a savage and horrid custom, tending little to intimidate, but admirably calculated to render a disaffected people more savage and ferocious, by making them familiar with barbarity, and accustoming them to the violation of the rights of sepulture.

A body of insurgents, who assembled soon after at White-heaps, was dispersed by general Needham, assisted by general Duff and the marquis of Huntly, the last of whom acquired great credit during his residence in Ireland, by uniting humanity with courage, and compassionating the failings of a deluded multitude at the same time that he rendered their fury ineffectual.

The spirit of rebellion in the south, which assumed all the appearance of a war of religion, was now completely subdued; and in the north it never exhibited a very formidable shape, for the disaffected Protestants in that quarter, shocked at the enormities perpetrated, the intolerance displayed, and the pretended miracles wrought by two Popish priests*, determined to resist the seduction. They indeed found means to keep possession of Antrim for a few days; however, on being attacked with cannon and musquetry, they were driven out of that place, but not until lord O'Niel, who commanded a

* Roche and Murphy.

regiment of Irish militia, had fallen. They were also repulsed in an ill-concerted attack on Carricfergus ; at Ballynahinch, where they had determined to make a stand under Munroe, although they could not muster more than six thousand men, they received, a total overthrow, and the insurrection was completely quelled : notwithstanding, a few of the stragglers assembled in some force, first at Ardee and then at Garrets Town.

In the mean time courts martial were held on all the leaders. Mr. B. Harvey, whose influence had been superseded after the battle of Ross, by that of father Murphy, the priest, and who had seized the first opportunity of abandoning men inflamed into habitual cruelty by those who ought to have preached the language of Christian charity, was surprised in a cave on one of the rocks that form the harbour of Wexford, and hanged on the bridge of that town. Although this sentence was enforced by a court of a very equivocal kind, the jurisdiction of which is not recognised by the law, such was the relentless spirit of the times, that his heirs were bereaved of his large property ; and as this could not be done in the usual course of justice, a *post-facto* act was obtained for that purpose.

It is greatly to be lamented that a trial by jury was denied to such as were supposed to have dipped their hands in blood or forfeited their lives by rebellion ; as it would surely have been at once more dignified and more legitimate, to have convicted the offenders according to the usual mode, and not have imitated the example of the French during the Vendéan war, by the conversion of military tribunals into courts that were to decide on the lives of men, some of whom had not even been accused of appearing in arms. But posterity will learn with horror, that torture was in some instances recurred to by individuals on purpose to extort confessions of guilt ; and what is still more shocking, that this barbarous and inhuman custom was not only permitted, but is said to have been palliated by men in high authority.

Luckily for the happiness of Ireland and the honour of Great Britain, a more generous policy soon after prevailed, for lord Cornwallis, although bred to arms from his youth,

yet detesting schemes of vengeance and proscription, after making some public examples, put an end to the scene of blood. In the course of a few days subsequently to his arrival, he informed the House of Commons by a message, of "his Majesty's orders to acquaint them, that he had signified his gracious intention of granting a general pardon for all offences committed previously to a certain time, upon such conditions and with such exceptions as might be compatible with the public safety;" and it was added "that these offers of mercy were not to preclude measures of vigor against the obstinate."

His lordship accordingly, while he held out the immediate prospect of pardon and forgiveness to the ignorant rabble, was determined to bring several of the principal chiefs to trial; but he did not recur to the invidious mode of impanelling military men, unacquainted with the rules of evidence and the forms of justice, who, after bravely overcoming the enemy with their swords, were afterwards to supersede the laws by sitting in judgment upon them and their followers: on the contrary, he issued orders for a special commission, and the culprits were raigned, convicted, and condemned, by competent tribunals, with a solemnity suitable to the occasion.

A few suffered; and as the insurrection was now completely crushed, and public justice fully vindicated, both mercy and policy called aloud for pardon and oblivion.

But although the government had quelled the insurrection, it was still unacquainted with the ultimate views of the conspirators, the full extent of their plan, the exact form of their organisation, and, above all, with the nature of their connection with France: it was deemed advisable, therefore, to obtain ample information on these subjects. Accordingly, Mr. Bond, a member of the directory, was offered his life, lately forfeited by a verdict of his peers, on this express condition; as he was deterred for some time, by a consideration for the safety of his colleagues*, the same promise was extended to

* Messrs. O'Connors, Neilson, and M'Nevin. Mr. Bond died previously to his removal; and the former gentlemen, instead of being sent to a neutral country, were afterwards confined with some others at Fort George, in Scotland, whence they were liberated soon after the peace.

all under confinement; and these having acquitted themselves to the entire satisfaction of the administration, they were to be permitted to exile themselves to any country not then at war with Great Britain. After this, an act of general amnesty was passed, with the exception of a few men of some note, who had taken refuge on the continent.

By the able conduct and dignified moderation of the new lord-lieutenant, the deluded peasantry returned to their cottages, and many of the chiefs who had escaped detection became peaceable, if not loyal subjects. Had a system of obdurate severity been pursued, Ireland would perhaps have resembled Poitou, and the scenes about to be depicted might have terminated fatally for the interests of the empire.

The French directory, who had hitherto contemplated the progress of the civil war in seeming tranquillity, now seemed eager to revive it, by transmitting a force, which would have been formidable previously to the action at Vinegar-hill, but now proved insignificant and contemptible. Accordingly, at a period when the arts of peace began once more to be cultivated, a body of men, amounting to about nine hundred, was landed from three frigates, at Killala Bay, in the county of Mayo, within one hundred and twenty miles of Dublin; and general Humbert, an officer who had distinguished himself under Hoche, during the Vendéan war, immediately took up his head-quarters at the bishop's palace. But although the alluring symbol of a green flag was erected, accompanied by the emblem of a harp, and encircled with the motto of "Erin Go Bragh*," yet but a few of the peasantry could be prevailed upon to join him; of these none professed the protestant religion, and no individuals of note, of any persuasion†, two or three only excepted, countenanced the invaders.

After leaving a small garrison under colonel Charost behind him, to keep up the communication and receive supplies, general Humbert clothed and armed all those who had repaired

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* Ireland for ever.

† One gentleman, heir to a considerable fortune, born in Spain, and educated at Liege, is said to have been prevailed upon to act as president of the council of Connaught.

to his standard, and immediately marched towards Castlebar. In the mean time, being still in hopes of a more powerful support, he prepared a proclamation, in which he entrusted the government of the province to a council consisting of twelve members, and gave orders for the raising of twelve regiments. He also enjoined "every individual from sixteen to forty, in the name of the Irish republic, to repair immediately to the French camp," on purpose "to march in a mass against the common enemy of the government of Ireland, the English, whose destruction alone," it was added "can secure the happiness and independence of ancient Hibernia†."

In the mean time major-general Hutchinson anticipated the French, having by a sudden evolution obtained possession of the chief town in the county of Connaught; but on the other hand, the latter completely deceived their adversaries, on their arrival at Ballina, by advancing through Barnahgecby instead of Foxford, and thus experiencing no obstacle whatsoever in the route to Castlebar.

Although he relied chiefly for success on his own troops, yet being desirous to magnify his little army by the appearance of numbers, Humbert had dressed up a number of the natives in uniforms, and afterwards contrived to post his new levies on the flanks in such a manner as to protect his column from the fire of the enemy.

The field of battle, to which he was now in full march, consisted of a hill, at the north-west extremity of the town, where the English forces were drawn up in two lines*, which

† This paper, which happened to be discovered among the archives of the provisional government, was never published, as it soon became evident that the mild policy of lord Cornwallis was far better calculated to subvert the spirit of resistance than a system of torture and conflagration.

* According to sir R. Musgrave's Memoirs, p. 593, the following disposition took place: the first line consisted of the Kilkenny militia, the skeleton of the sixth regiment of foot, and a subaltern's detachment of the Prince of Wales's fencibles. The Fraser fencibles, with a small corps of Galway yeomen infantry, formed a second line; the four companies of the Longford were drawn up in a valley in the rear, and a little in the left of the main body of the Kilkenny. The cavalry, consisting of

crowned the summits; a small reserve was stationed in the rear, two curricle and some battalion guns were posted in front, and commanded a rising ground, over which the invaders must necessarily pass: the exact effective strength has never been ascertained, but it appears to have exceeded fifteen hundred men, and it must be allowed that the troops were not injudiciously posted.

About eight o'clock in the morning, the French with their allies were seen advancing in column, and some of the peasantry, who accompanied them, made an ineffectual attempt to divert the fire of the artillery, which was well served, by driving some cattle before them. On this Humbert, after reconnoitring, halted under cover of a rising ground, and pushed forward a body of his best marksmen, who advanced rapidly, and occupied some hedges in front, whence they extended themselves, with a view of annoying and out-flanking the adversary.

The fire of the opposite lines, instead of being reserved, was expended before it could be serviceable, a mistake of which the enemy immediately took advantage; for the main body having rushed forward, and the sharp shooters evincing a design to penetrate into the rear, the detachment posted for the purpose of supporting the guns retired, and they were immediately abandoned. The earls of Ormond, Longford, and Granard, endeavoured to rally their men, and they so far succeeded as to impede for some time the progress of the assailants; but they were pursued with alacrity, and the royal Irish artillery, who had gallantly defended the bridge by means of a single gun, were at length charged by the horse and nearly cut off.

The loss sustained upon this occasion has been vaguely estimated at six hundred men and eight pieces of cannon; it

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the first fencibles, and a part of the sixth dragoon guards, were stationed in the rear of the first line, some piquets excepted, and some mounted yeomen, who were posted in different quarters. In addition to the artillery mentioned above, which was under the direction of captain Shortall, two more curricle guns were posted in the centre of the town, under lieutenant Blundle of the artillery.

is certain, however, that it was considerable, and the suspicion of disaffection among part of the troops rendered the calamity still greater.

Castlebar, a place of some importance on account of its situation, now became the head-quarters of the invaders, and a number of the deserters from the Irish militia regiments, chiefly sactuated by the hopes of booty, joined the invaders; but to the honour of the French commander, he acquired the odium of many of his new allies, by his scrupulous regard to the lives and property of individuals.

General Humbert being determined to take advantage of the consternation occasioned by his victory, and hoping also to be able to obtain succours and assistance in proportion as his troops advanced into the heart of the country, he moved with his whole force through Swineford and Tubbercurry, towards Tuam, as if with intention to reach the capital, now only eighty miles distant. But his career did not extend beyond that town; for lord Cornwallis, with great propriety, determined to take the field in person, and having collected a formidable body of troops, marched against the invaders. On this, the French commander, knowing that his force must cease to be formidable, the moment that it ceased to act offensively, generously determined on the preservation of such of the insurgents as had joined him, although their conduct had in no instance entitled them to his esteem, and in more than one case not even to his protection; he, however, made a retrograde but circuitous march, partly on purpose to to enable them to escape, and partly with the hope of receiving reinforcements from France.

In the mean time, the army under the lord lieutenant advanced with hasty steps, on purpose to cut off the progress of the invaders, who in the course of seventeen days had penetrated a considerable way into the kingdom, fought and gained a battle, and appeared to be in possession of the whole of Connaught. At length, a column of troops under lieutenant-colonel Crawford, burning with impatience to wipe off the late disgrace, came up with the rear of the retiring foe at Ballinamuck; and after a short but sharp contest, the French, who, to the astonishment of their conquerors, amounted to no

more than eight hundred and forty-four men, surrendered themselves prisoners of war*. The loss of the British was contemptible; but a great slaughter took place among such of the insurgents as, trusting to their good fortune, had not disbanded; for a considerable number of these perished in

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* "Return of the killed, wounded, and missing, of the king's forces at the battle of Ballinamuck, Sept. 8, 1798.

"Officers, none killed; privates, killed three, wounded twelve, missing three; horses, killed eleven, wounded one, missing one.

"Ordnance, arms, and ammunition, taken.—Three light French four-pounders; five ditto ammunition-waggons, nearly full of made-up ammunition; one ditto tumbril; seven hundred stand of arms, with belts and pouches; with a great number of pikes.

"Officer wounded.—Lieut. Stephens, of the Carabineers."

"Return of the French army taken prisoners at the battle of Ballinamuck, Sept. 8, 1798.

"General and other officers, ninety-six; non-commissioned officers and soldiers, seven hundred and forty-six; horses, about one hundred. N. B. ninety-six rebels taken—three of them called general officers, by the names of Roach, Blake, and Teeling. The enemy in their retreat were compelled to abandon nine pieces of cannon, which they had taken in the former actions with his majesty's forces."

"Names of the principal officers of the French forces taken at the battle of Ballinamuck, Sept. 8, 1798.

"Humbert, général en chief; Sarazin, général de division; Fontaine, général de brigade; Lascrure, chef de brigade, attaché à l'état major; Dufour, ditto; Aulty, chef de battalion; Demanche, ditto; Toussaint, ditto; Babin, ditto; Sibernon, ditto; Menou, commissaire ordonnateur; Brillier, commissaire de guerre; Thibault, payeur; Puron, aid-de-camp; Framair, ditto; Moreau, capitaine waguemestre general; Ardouin, chef de brigade; Serve, chef de battalion; Hais, ditto, Mauchaud, ditto; Brand and Massonet, officers de sainte.

"Recapitulation—sous-officers, ninety-six; grenadiers, eight; fusiliers, four hundred and forty; carbineers, thirty-three; chasseurs, sixty; cannoniers, forty-one:—total, officers, ninety-six;—eight hundred and forty-four. P. Ardouin."

their flight, about one hundred only having been taken prisoners, among whom were three of their chiefs*.

Scarcely had a month elapsed, when a small squadron carrying a reinforcement to the French troops was descried, attacked, and discomfited, by sir John Borlase Warren, and the whole captured, two frigates only excepted. Among the prisoners seized upon this occasion was Theobald Wolfe Tone, with whom had originated the plan of the society of United Irishmen, and the idea of an Irish republic, with the assistance of, but totally independent of, France. After acting in the character of a plenipotentiary to, he was now returnin with a commission as a lieutenant-general in the service of the directory, on purpose to support with his sword the principles he had so earnestly inculcated by his pen; and as he knew that his life was forfeited by the laws of his country, he found means to put a period to it while in prison, and thus prevent the ignominy of a public execution.

After this, a few parties still lurked amidst the fastnesses and traversed the mountains, skirmishing with the troops, and carrying on a predatory warfare. An obscure but bold and intrepid chief, of the name of Holt, contrived for a long time to elude the vigilance and baffle all the arts of his pursuers: such at last was his celebrity, that he seemed to resemble one of the Vendéan leaders, and had Connaught presented the same resources as the woods and marshes of Britanny and Anjou, he appeared calculated to exhibit all the stratagems displayed by a Stofflet or a Charette. This man at length became of such consequence as to obtain terms from government, and his life was preserved on condition of leaving the kingdom.

Thus, after a bloody and disgusting scene of more than three months' duration, ended the insurrection in Ireland, which, in addition to the loss of upwards of one million of property†, as well as the lives of a multitude of the inhabitants,

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* Teeling, Blake, and Roach.

† The estimate of the losses on the part of the loyalists alone, amounted to twenty-three thousand five hundred and seventeen pounds six shillings and four pence, according to the account

threw the whole of that kingdom into indescribable confusion; and, had but the French directory exhibited the same degree of ability as the prime movers of the conspiracy, might have ended in a measure which can never be sufficiently deprecated, not only as tending to the alienation of a large portion of the strength of the empire, but as an event intimately connected with its prosperity and independence.

It is painful to look back on a contest which had its foundation in civil disabilities, arising out of the religious opinions of the majority of a nation; for in these assuredly originated the influence, and also the success, of those theorists, who, smitten with the love of new systems, wished to establish a commonwealth in Ireland. But they had woefully mistaken the state of society among the lower classes of their countrymen, who, actuated solely by religious bigotry, would not only have proclaimed their own the dominant and exclusive faith, but, preferring a father Murphy and a father Roche to a Fitzgerald and an O'Connor, would have founded a barbarous theocracy, in which confessors alone would have been permitted to rule.

It is also worthy of remark, that the late civil war in Ireland was not only produced by the denial of Catholic emancipation, but that the agitation of this question is supposed to have afterwards occasioned a schism in the British cabinet, in consequence of which the very ministers who had preferred the certainty of national commotions to a liberal system of polity, afterwards resigned their stations, because they themselves could not then obtain that boon which they had before denied, both to the prayers and the threats of a large portion of the nation.

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delivered in to the commissioners appointed by act of parliament.

## CHAP. XIII.

*Situation of Great Britain—Unfortunate Expedition to Ostend —Capture of Minorca—Evacuation of St. Domingo—Naval Campaign of* 1798.

NOTWITHSTANDING Great Britain, by the treaty of Campo Formio, was deprived of the assistance of the emperor of Germany, and menaced with an invasion from France, yet her commerce experienced an unexampled degree of prosperity, and the power, wealth, and importance, of this country, were never more conspicuous than in the course of the present year. By the victory of Aboukir the navy of a rival nation might be considered as annihilated, while a host of enemies was about to exhaust her finances, and occupy the attention of her armies, in consequence of that splendid event. An insurrection in the sister kingdom had also been overcome; the troops sent by the directory thither were taken prisoners, and a new armament with fresh succours intercepted and captured.

AT no period of their history did the natives of the British isles ever exhibit a greater degree of courage and constancy than during the present. Many battalions of militia made a tender of their services in Ireland; twelve regiments were actually sent thither, and two noblemen of high rank* not only accompanied them, but acted in the capacity of colonels. Notwithstanding the increased burden of taxation, and the peculiar pressure of the triple assessment, all ranks and classes of men displayed a laudable degree of vigour and patriotism: even those who doubted the justice and denied the policy of the war, were indignant at the idea of foreign domination; and an armed and united people, although not unconscious of the gigantic power, mocked the idle threats and empty boastings, of their enemies.

THE offensive operations of Great Britain in the course of

* The marquisses of Hertford and Buckingham.

this year were chequered with a variety of good and bad fortune. During the spring an expedition was fitted out against maritime Flanders; for as no hope was now entertained of being able to restore that country to the emperor, the ministry thought proper to render it as little serviceable as possible to the enemy. An armament accordingly sailed for this purpose from Margate Roads, under captain Popham, with a body of troops on board commanded by major-general Coote. On its arrival before Ostend the necessary preparations were made for a descent, and while the Wolvereen, Asp, and Biter, returned the fire of the batteries, the Hecla and Tartarus bombs threw their shells with such quickness and precision, that the town was set on fire in several places, and some little damage done to the shipping.

In the mean time a landing was effected to the north-west, notwithstanding the violence of the gale, and many of the troops were actually put on shore before an alarm was given. As soon as the soldiers had formed they proceeded to execute the object of the expedition, which had been undertaken for the express purpose of blowing up the bason, gates, and sluices, of the Bruges canal, as well as destroying the internal navigation by means of which transport-schuyts, instead of risking a voyage by sea, were enabled to keep up an internal intercourse between Holland, France, and Flanders. General Coote accordingly burnt several boats, demolished the sluice-gates, and effected a grand explosion, by which he hoped to have destroyed a grand national work, which had cost the states of Bruges an immense sum of money, and occupied the labours of five years to complete. After having thus, as was supposed, rendered the canal of Bruges unserviceable, and prevented, for a time at least, the conveyance of naval and military stores, the commander in chief attempted about noon to retreat on board the shipping; but he soon discovered that the wind was so high, and the surf so much increased, that this operation became impracticable. Upon this it was deemed proper to occupy a position on the sand-hills at a little distance from the beach, and, by way of gaining time, the governor of Ostend was summoned to surrender; but this fate was unhappily reserved for the invaders themselves, as

that officer found means in the course of the night to assemble a great force, with which he hemmed in the English early in the morning, and all resistance being in vain, they surrendered after a gallant defence, in the course of which major-general Coote was wounded. Captain Popham endeavoured without effect to obtain an exchange of prisoners, and it appears at first to have been the intention of the French government to oblige the troops to labour at the reparation of the works they had demolished; but it was soon found on inspection, that the damage was but trifling, every thing being restored to its former state in the course of a few weeks.

An expedition in another quarter, towards the close of the year, proved more fortunate. As it was considered to be an object of considerable importance to wrest the island of Minorca from the Spaniards, a small squadron was accordingly detached under admiral Duckworth for that purpose, and the command of the land forces conferred on the honourable general Stuart, an active and enterprising officer. A landing having been effected in the bay of Addaya by a division of eight hundred men, the Spaniards, who had previously evacuated a small battery at the entrance, and spiked the guns, soon after abandoned and blew up the works at Fornelles. Nearly at the same time about two thousand of their troops approached in different directions, and threatened to surround the English detachment; but they were repulsed with some loss on the left, while the guns of the Argo checked a similar attempt on the right flank, and time was thus obtained for the debarkation of the rest of the land forces.

Notwithstanding the badness of the roads, and the disagreeable intelligence brought by deserters, that the force on the island exceeded four thousand men, general Stuart detached colonel Graham to seize on the important post of Mercadel. On learning soon after that the town of Mahon had been left nearly destitute of troops, colonel Paget, who had advanced with a body of three hundred, summoned Fort Charles, and made the lieutenant-governor of the island and some officers prisoners. He also removed the boom which obstructed the entrance of the harbour, and enabled the Cormorant and Aurora frigates to enter immediately.

The commander in chief having now learned that the Spaniards were throwing up works and forming an entrenched camp in front of Cindadella, determined to attack them there; and having obtained the assistance of some seamen and marines from the squadron, he advanced in two columns, and forced the Spaniards to retire within the walls.

Notwithstanding these favourable events, such was the deficiency of heavy artillery and every article necessary for a siege, that the place could not have been carried had it been defended with any degree of resolution. On the governor's being summoned, he appears to have been restricted merely by a point of honour from delivering up the island immediately; for he took the preliminary articles into consideration, and was at length deterred from surrendering by his doubts whether the investing force was superior to that of the garrison. Two batteries of three twelve-pounders and three five and a half inch howitzers were therefore erected in the course of the following night; but although it became obvious that such light metal was totally inadequate to the capture of the place, only two eighteen-pound shot were fired by the besieged, for a capitulation was immediately entered into, in consequence of which Minorca submitted to the British arms.

On the other hand, the island of St. Domingo, in the West Indies, on which so much treasure had been lavished and blood spilt, was evacuated nearly about the same time. This measure was produced by a variety of causes; particularly the increasing energy and numbers of the mulattoes and freed negroes, now rendered warlike by a succession of combats, as well as the relaxed efforts of the royalists, who perceiving that the surrender of this colony had been expressly stipulated in the late negociations in Europe, were at length desirous to make their peace with the mother country, and enjoy the remainder of their wealth without disputing any longer about the form of government that was to afford them protection. On the other hand, the British ministry, knowing that no portion of the settlement could be retained any longer without immense sacrifices, determined to abandon the dreams of conquest and chimeras of commercial speculation. Brigadier-

general Maitland accordingly agreed with Toussaint L'Ouverture, now commander in chief of that colony where he had been formerly a slave, to leave the island, and deliver up the parish of Arcahaye, and the towns of Port-au-Prince and St. Marc, on condition of guaranteeing the lives and properties of all the inhabitants who might choose to remain.

In another quarter of the globe the island of Goza surrendered to a British squadron, and Malta was blockaded by a detachment of men-of-war under captain Ball. Lieutenant Price gallantly defended St. Marcou against a French flotilla from La Hogue; and a Spanish armament, with a body of troops, commanded by general O'Neil, governor of Yucatan, was also foiled in an attempt on the bay of Honduras.

The successful exertions of the British navy were particularly conspicuous during the campaign of this year; thirteen line-of-battle, and as many forty-gun ships and frigates, having been either captured, burnt, or destroyed. On the other hand, the English lost the Ambuscade, mounting thirty-two guns, after a severe action, in the bay of Biscay, with the Bayonnaise; the Jason and La Pique ran aground near Brest at the end of a contest of three hours with La Seine of forty-two guns, which was captured, as was also the Leander of fifty, the flag of which was reluctantly struck to Le Généreux of seventy-four, soon after the battle of the Nile, whence the latter had escaped; but, notwithstanding this disparity of rates, a gallant contest of six hours, during which about one hundred of the crew of the latter were killed, and one hundred and eighty-eight wounded, conferred honour on her commander.

But the security of the British isles was greatly promoted by the failure of an expedition and the capture of a body of troops destined to renew the horrors of civil war in Ireland. This armament, already alluded to, consisted of one ship of the line and eight frigates, which had sailed from Brest with a reinforcement to the troops in Ireland. Sir John Borlase Warren, who was cruising in the Canada off Lough Swilly, having received intelligence of the approach of a hostile squadron from some vessels* stationed for the purpose of watch-

* The Amelia, Ethalion, Anson, and Sylph.

ing the motions of the enemy, immediately endeavoured to fall in with it. Accordingly, he and the four sail of men-of-war under his command† at noon next day discovered an eighty-gun ship, several frigates, a schooner, and a brig*. On this he threw out the signal for a general chace, and gave orders to form in succession as each man-of-war reached her antagonist; but from the great distance and a hollow sea, it was impossible to commence the action before next morning, by which time it was discovered that the large ship had lost her main-top-mast.

Instead of attempting to run away, the French squadron bore down and formed a line of battle in close order upon the starboard tack; on this the Canada threw out a signal for the Robust to lead, and the rest of the ships to form in succession in the rear of the van. An action of three hours and forty minutes ensued, at the end of which period the three-decked vessel, which proved to be the Hoche, struck, and three other frigates following her example, hauled down their colours also, after a long and gallant resistance. The whole squadron was entirely new, and full of troops, stores, and every thing for the establishment of their views. Five frigates, the schooner, and brig, escaped; but two of the former were afterwards captured, and the expedition completely frustrated.

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† British Squadron.

The Canada, Magnanime,
Robust, and
Foudroyant, Melampus.

* French Squadron.

| *Ships' names.* | *Guns.* |
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| Le Hoche | 80 |
| L'Ambuscade | 40 |
| La Coquille | 40 |
| La Bellone | 36 |
| La Résolue | 40 |
| La Loire | 46 |
| La Romaine | 40 |
| La Semillante | 36 |

And La Biche, a schooner.